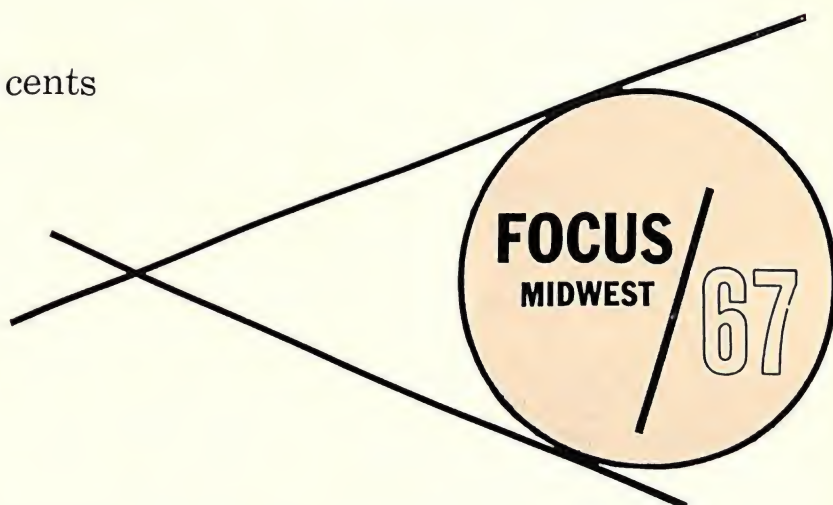


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*Also:*

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Should be Abolished*

*A Frank View of  
Gov. Hearn's Position  
on Title 19*

*Preventing another  
Watts is up to Business*

*Sadism at the Rodeo*

*Voting Records  
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Industry Dominates Illinois  
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Forecast: The 1968 Elections In Illinois

A Philosophical And Political Footnote  
On The St. Louis Gateway Arch



# OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

An advertisement in the *Chicago Daily Defender* sponsored by many distinguished local citizens, including Lerone Bennett Jr., Warren Bacon, Dr. Arthur G. Falls, Mrs. Lucy Montgomery, Erwin A. Salk, Dr. Quentin D. Young, and many others point out that the Chicago police has raided over the past six months without a search warrant the offices of SNCC, JOIN, ACT, West Side Organization, and Woodlawn's First Presbyterian Church, all social protest organizations. The advertisement states, "the unwarranted basis of these raids has, in each case that has reached the courts, been borne out by judicial rulings in favor of the defendants."

The *Kansas City Jewish Chronicle* discovered this literary announcement in the *Kansas City Star*: "A session following luncheon will feature discussion on 'The Mishneh Torah.' Leading that will be Moses Maimonides, author of 'Anthology of Medieval Hebrew Literature.'" (Maimonides died 1204.)

Through the efforts of St. Louis Mayor Cervantes, the Spanish exhibit at the New York World Fair, a pavilion, will become one of the cultural institutions in St. Louis. The pavilion was a gift from the Spanish government. Now the Mayor plans to erect a six-foot statue of Queen Isabella in front of the pavilion. To many St. Louisans the symbolism of this statue is marred by the Queen's support of the head of the Spanish inquisition, Torquemada, also her personal confessor, who was responsible for the death of thousands of people. Many citizens feel that neither the donor nor the statue adequately represent the ideals of individual freedom or human dignity.

Minneapolis ordinances make it illegal to advocate, advise, or teach pacifism. They also specify what size and type of flags may be displayed at public meetings.

The *Chicago Daily News* reports that during a heated discussion on police brutality in the Chicago City Council, Ald. Harry L. Sain, whose ward includes Madison St.'s Skid Row district, interrupted to tell how police handled a particularly active "jackroller" (a thief who robs drunks). "The police took him into the station and beat the hell out of him and he got out of the neighborhood," said Sain. "I say, let's rough them up a bit." Sain took the stand in rebuttal to Ald. Despres' charge of police brutality.

In De Kalb, Illinois, District Judge Edwin A. Robinson refused to ban recital of an "instant verse" of thankfulness recited by a kindergarten class. The judge declared the verse to be a "pedagogical" device "making the child aware of the beauties of the world around him and grateful to them." Two parents had argued that the verse infringed on their five-year-old daughter's religious freedom.

Governor Kerner of Illinois appointed Roland W. Blaha as the first banking commissioner of the State of Illinois. Up to the time of his appointment, the new commissioner served as head of the Illinois Bankers Association, a powerful lobbying group.

While all Illinois Democratic congressmen voted for passage of the \$1.75 billion authorization for the war on poverty, only three of eight Missouri Democrats supported it. (Opposed were Hull, Hungate, Ichord, and Randall. Jones was absent.) Not one of the Republican congressmen from Illinois or Missouri voted for passage.

The Boston School Committee reclassified 671 Chinese-American students as "white." This removed two predominantly Chinese schools from the racially imbalanced category and reduced the number of such schools to 44 (out of 191).

The director of the Parents' Aid Society of Hempstead, N.Y. was jailed this fall for displaying birth control devices in New Jersey, where it is unlawful to disseminate birth control information in public.

## CREDITS

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## Letters

### *The Liberal Position*

F M: I have just read (the) article on "The Liberal Position" in FOCUS *Midwest* (Vol. 5, No. 34). I found it stimulating and, generally, right to the mark . . .

Herbert H. Humphrey  
The Vice President  
Washington, D. C.

### *The Fighting Conservationists*

F M: In general I found George Leposky's article "The Fighting Conservationists" to be both accurate and fairly well-balanced. There are, however, a few areas that need to be thought out more carefully.

I am particularly disturbed at Mr. Leposky's tendency to confuse inadequate green space with inadequate park land. The most important measurement of the adequacy of a park is not the amount of grass and shrubbery but how well it is used. This is particularly true in a city the size of Chicago, where all existing parkland must be designed for the maximum possible use. This means allowing, and even promoting, such non-green uses as museums, conservatories, restaurants, park drives, and, of course, adequate parking facilities for those people who do not live in areas convenient to adequate public transportation. Such parameters as ten acres of parkland per thousand population, which have nothing whatsoever to do with park use are absolutely meaningless and should be dropped from the city and park planning vocabularies.

Another area of Mr. Leposky's article that needs comment is his solutionless lament on the disruptive effect of Lake Shore Drive. Even though the original designers of Lake Shore Drive never intended it to be a major traffic artery, the nature of their design precluded its ever becoming anything else. Recent improvements to Lake Shore Drive were primarily intended to provide for safer and smoother operating conditions for existing traffic flows and did little to increase the volume of traffic. Solutions to the barrier problem imposed

by Lake Shore Drive either consist of relocating the Drive's traffic to some new facility farther inland or constructing numerous pedestrian access facilities across the Drive and extending the park out into Lake Michigan. This latter proposal appears to be the most economically feasible at the present time. Although any new park land would have to be served by a new system of scenic park drives, it should go without saying that any new drives should be designed in a discontinuous manner so as to discourage their being used for through traffic along the lake shore.

One final word to Mr. Leposky. Although Daniel Burnham left Chicago with a valuable system of parks and some very sensible park planning concepts, it must be remembered that much has occurred in the fields of city and park planning during the last fifty years. We know infinitely more about the sociological and recreational behavior of people than we did in Burnham's day, and we have moved from a rather limited horse and buggy operation to an almost universal automobile society. Any analysis and evaluation of the Chicago Park system must be based on today's knowledge and realities, and not yesterday's accomplishments and dreams.

John N. LaPlante  
Chicago, Illinois

### *Mr. Leposky Replies:*

I appreciate Mr. La Plante's comments and his evident concern for the condition of Chicago's parks. Unfortunately for this concern, a high-speed arterial expressway in a park still forms a barrier to access to Chicago's lakefront (even with pedestrian overpasses) and acts, by its very existence, as a magnet to drivers who wish to travel at higher speeds. What Chicago built in Jackson Park is just this kind of road. It performs this function well, but by no stretch of the imagination can it be called a scenic drive. I agree that the park should be extended out into the lake. I hope it will happen soon.

Certain structures — such as the Field Museum of Natural History and

the Adler Planetarium — clearly enhance their park locations and serve as foci of activity in the parks. I never suggested that nothing should be built in the parks. A comparison of the Adler Planetarium with the late unlamented McCormick Place should make clear the difference between a structure which enhances a park and a structure which disrupts a park.

Perhaps it is true that many people today prefer not to "recreate" in open park land. On the other hand, perhaps they would still enjoy use of open land. Despite Mr. La Plante's appeal to "sociological and recreational behavior" knowledge, we do not know the answer to this question. We do not know this because there is so little open land available that the opportunity to use open land simply does not present itself to most city dwellers. Much more to the point are the psychological needs of the individual for beauty and for a contrast to the stresses of city life. Open park space answers these needs.

### *The Rightists Pay*

F/M: Your reference to "WTAQ, Chicago" in FOCUS *Midwest*, (The Right Wing; V. 5, No. 33) has been brought to my attention. Thank you for the publicity in behalf of our 12:30 daily programs. For your information I think you should know that these are commercial programs, purchased and paid for by American Advertising Agency, and we broadcast them as such. Whether this is true of the hundreds of other stations that broadcast some of these programs, I do not know.

Though these programs are considered to be "right," our policy is to offer a voice to Americans regardless of their political persuasion. You might like to give equal publicity to other programs broadcast on WTAQ, which are considered to be "left;" (and which we broadcast at no charge) such as those of the National Council of Churches, Church Federation of Chicago, The Urban League, Social Security, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as well as Matters of Fact about the U. N., Matters of Fact about the Radical Right, Matters of Fact about the NCC, Matters of Fact about the Catholic Church.

Charles F. Sebastian  
WTAQ Radio 1300  
La Grange, Ill.

(Continued on Page 33)

## The Paper Curtain

**H**ow many school children know that the only non-military member of the Lewis and Clark expedition was "a black servant (York) belonging to Captain Clark?" Or, that Negroes came to America long before the Mayflower with the first French and Spanish explorers?

If they do not, publishers such as Scott, Foresman and Co. must bear part of the responsibility. Testifying before the recent House Education and Health subcommittee hearings, D. E. Peterson, president of this publishing house, admitted that his company prints two versions of a first-grade reader. One is the 1962 all-white version of "Fun With Our Friends," the other is a 1965 version, "to reflect the diversified makeup of the population." (It wasn't diversified before 1962?)

Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education, revealed that most history books are oriented toward Europe and pay scant attention to Asia and Africa. "Whole continents do not exist at all," he said. Textbooks break off coverage of Negroes at the end of the Civil War, and he added that a book currently prescribed for the 11th and 12th grades in Virginia described the "advantages" of slavery.

On the other hand, Silver Burdett Co. found that their sales had doubled and that there was little overt resistance since their books began giving greater attention to Negroes and other minority groups; and McGraw-Hill stated that its policy of "fully integrated textbooks and other instructional material" has been in effect for years without any setbacks for the company.

A further inducement to publish balanced textbooks has been provided by the American Federation of Teachers which resolved to discard or boycott textbooks that neglect or distort the role of Afro-Americans in chronicling American history.

Lerone Bennett, Jr., author, charged that with "rare exceptions" textbooks ignored Negro history, and urged that Congress insist that federally funded programs use teaching materials that give a balanced picture of all Americans. Legislation in the arena of books is a delicate matter and we would prefer that the publishers act on their own. And why not? The Office of Education reports that there is a 390-million volume shortage of school books. In a bullish market, even Southern children could read about York and like it. But if publishers fail in their obligations, Congress may have to act to free textbooks from censorship.

## In The Ecumenical Spirit

**T**HE overflowing audience of more than 2,000 students, faculty, and other guests who followed the close reasoning of the Sorbonne Professor Roger Garaudy at St. Louis University is to be congratulated. They received the speaker, a leading member of the French Communist Party, in a true ecumenical spirit. Their warm, even enthusiastic reception showed that the Communist-Catholic dialogue is real. Vatican II, which set up a commission under Cardinal Francis Koenig for this purpose, had for a few hours become a part of the lives of hundreds of citizens in its most delicate aspect.

The initial, near-bungling response of university president The Very Rev. Paul C. Reinert and the trustees to pressures by the American Legion and the Legion of St. Michael can now be forgiven. Ultimately, all those who were entitled to attend the session were admitted.

The evening unravelled without incident except for a shouted challenge during the question period. (Questions were supposed to be submitted in writing.) "What about the dialogue in Soviet Russia?" asked an anonymous voice. Prof. Garaudy's response that he "will answer the question from the Tribunal," brought the house down.

The speaker revealed that a number of years ago he had asked Moscow to publish the writings of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, by many considered the most eminent contemporary Jesuit philosopher. Garaudy in turn was asked to write an introduction. About six years later he received Teilhard's writings with his introduction in Russian from Moscow. "I am very proud to announce," said the French Communist, "that I am the father of the first Jesuit work published in Soviet Russia."

## Democracy At Lincoln U.?

**T**HE crudity with which President Earl Dawson of Lincoln University interferes with free expression on his campus runs counter to accepted scholarly standards and betrays the office with which the citizens of Missouri have entrusted him. In consequence, not only is the academic atmosphere stale, but the poor conditions of the dormitories and abominable service at the cafeteria have moved some students to talk and write about "riots."

When Zamba Brown, a journalism major and African student, wrote an article in the campus newspaper critical of the cafeteria, President Dawson personally stripped him of his duties as a reporter and made sure that no article by him would be published again.

*This is how an African national learns democracy first-hand at an American state university.* It was even intimated that if he didn't like it he could go you know where. What is so sacrosanct about the cafeteria? Their owners are suppliers of a state agency. Incidentally, and we ask this question advisedly, was the cafeteria, when first established, ever advertised for bids?

When the History Club invited a SNCC speaker, Miss Jennifer Lawson, President Dawson cancelled the talk because he found SNCC "unacceptable" and representing an extreme and objectionable point of view. The President declared his preference for speakers with "constructive" attitudes towards civil rights.

Changes, however, are imminent. Following publication of Charles Young's article (FOCUS/Midwest, Vol. 5, No. 33) on Lincoln University, Mr. George Roberts, an 85-year-old curator, resigned. For the past six years, the gentleman had shown up once a year for the board elections and provided the decisive vote to reelect the incumbent officers. The governor's new appointee, attorney Bruce Normil, promises to be an excellent choice. The term of another curator, Dr. Carl Peterson of Kansas City, has regrettably, expired. We hope that the governor will appoint a Kansas Citian worthy of his predecessor.

The suppressed turmoil at Lincoln University has brought a sense of mission to the Lincoln alumni. They have become a cohesive group, interested in state affairs as well as their university. They are now in the process of organizing politically, convinced that one vote counts more with the state legislature and administration than the scholarly product of a year-long study committee.

President Dawson will be 65 in 1969, when he must retire. The new president should be an educator of national stature, willing to listen to criticism and one who will permit responsible expression of dissent on the campus. It is not too early for the curators to begin their search.

## Senator Symington Replies

SENATOR Stuart Symington's personal "Washington Report," offers some answer to our questions (Vol. 5, No. 34) on the Senator's conservative voting record (republished in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*).

The Senior Senator from Missouri explains:

There are many domestic reasons for more effective control of inflationary pressures in the United States, and the imbalance of our international payments pertinent to the inflation problem and reflected in the drain of gold reserves, is a warning which must now be recognized in more practical fashion.

It was for such reasons that I voted against

foreign economic aid appropriations, and co-sponsored a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that United States forces in Europe should be reduced; and supported the poverty program only at the level of the Administration request, voting against amendments presented to the Senate to increase the authorization to \$2.4 billion.

As we pointed out in the last issue, the Senator also voted against many other important legislative measures, such as outlawing patient discrimination and barring agricultural employment of children of migrant farm workers, which would not have contributed to inflationary pressures. However, many of the Senator's negative votes can be explained by his concern about fiscal matters. Many others differ in their appraisal of our economy. Political leaders as divergent in their views as Senator Robert Kennedy and the President's former advisor McGeorge Bundy maintain that America can afford "guns and butter." We are sorry that Senator Symington disagrees. But if he must make a choice, we had hoped he would prefer "butter" to "guns."

## Blackmail Under The Law

SEVERAL months ago we published an article (Vol. 4, No. 11-12) on the collapse of the St. Louis bus boycott. The article described how the St. Louis city administration used the police in issuing tickets to the "freedom car" drivers for failure to possess a service car license and insurance liability sticker. Discussing the disposition of the tickets, the article declared: "The trial of the 1,200 tickets has been repeatedly continued. It is expected that they will be *nolle prossed* late this year."

On December 23, 1966 the City Counselor's office dismissed 1392 charges against the drivers. Assistant City Counselor James Wilson said "the charges of operating a service car without a permit were dropped because the cars were no longer being operated."

If the original charges were legitimate, it is a questionable act on the part of the City Counselor's office not to prosecute the drivers. The decision to dismiss the charges clearly means that the police were used for *political* purposes: to suppress a civil rights action. And why did it take nearly a year after the alleged offense to dismiss the tickets? Because the potential judicial action was used as a political club to keep CORE and the drivers in line, to be dug up if new protests should erupt. Some call it blackmail under the law.

## Sadism At The Rodeo

WE have always felt kind of queasy about rodeos. The roping and riding bordered on brutality, but not really. The animals appeared to be frightened and cornered, but

this was probably just make-believe. Though insensitive and crude, rodeos were not cruel, we thought.

We learned better from Russell Hastings writing in the *APA News* of the Animal Protective Association of Missouri:

The rodeo is one of the cruelest public spectacles regularly presented anywhere in the world. This year more than 10,000,000 Americans will watch more than 2,000 rodeos. Thousands of animals will be killed, maimed, and deliberately incited to frenzy by skillfully inflicted torture. Multitudes of ignorant and thoughtless people will applaud . . .

At a typical rodeo, scheduled events usually include calf and steer roping, bulldogging, steer or Brahma bull riding, bronc-busting, and such very funny tidbits as a clown trying to lasso a badly frightened cat. Some rodeos add wild-horse and "chuck wagon" races and wild-cow milking contests.

Some of the cruelties are obvious. Others are invisible to the crowd. Consider the spectacular bronc-busting event, for example.

A horse is led and goaded from outside corrals or pens into a narrow chute leading into the arena. The chute is so narrow that the horse can barely pass and cannot possibly turn. A halter and check rein keep his head down. The man who is to ride the terrified animal reaches through bars of the chute and over the top rail, and saddles. Formerly it was common practice to place tacks or other sharp objects in the saddle padding. Then, when the rider dropped onto the horse's back, the animal would explode into pain-frenzied action and a "beautiful" exhibition would result. This has been outlawed in many "circuit" rodeos in recent years but still is done in many small, unsupervised rodeos "to get a good ride" out of old or exhausted horses. In some rodeos the promoters and local authorities still permit uncontrolled use of rowelled spurs that can and do rip ribbons of flesh from a horse's sides.

The rowelled spur and the saddle-tacks are prohibited now in most commercial rodeos. The contestants use, instead, a rope cinched around the horse's loins at a point where, when tightened, it will cause excruciating pain. Riders call the device a G-String. As the rider swings from the chute-rail onto his saddle, the rope is yanked savagely tight. The natural reaction of the horse is to buck, kick, and rear — and a "pretty" ride results.

Audiences love it!

But the full extent of the cruelty is not found merely in the pain in the rodeo ring. In the case of the bronc-busting event, the cruelty begins much earlier.

The rearing and training of horses for rodeo work has become a specialized commercial operation on some western ranches. Range horses are allowed to grow well past the colt stage before they are taken into "training." By that time, unaccustomed to men, they are as wild as any other creature of the mesa or desert.

The training for rodeo bronc-busting exhibits consists of making the horse hate all men and associate men with pain. The horses "in training" are clubbed, hazed with ropes, and otherwise abused until the mere approach of a man drives the horse into demoniac rage.

Rodeo audiences like these fear-crazed horses best of all! The bronc-busting event is an act of kindness compared to the calf-roping contests.

You may want to keep these comments in mind next time you take your kids to the rodeo.

## Welcome

WE welcome the establishment of a new organization, the Institute for American Democracy, Inc. Financed by contributions from religious, labor, and civic organizations, and individuals, it plans to provide a "day-by-day correction of the record" to combat data spread by "extremist" groups.

The Institute is sponsored by a committee of 48 church, education, union, business, and civic leaders, Senators, and former government officials, including two former Cabinet members. The Institute's chairman, Dr. Franklin H. Littell, president of Iowa Wesleyan College, said the Institute "grows out of the concern of informed Americans over the ris-

ing volume of extremist activity, particularly by organizations in the John Birch Society orbit."

## Follow Ups

WILLIAM F. Buckley Jr. recently wrote: "One wonders why the Republican Party waits another moment before coming out, as a party objective, for Ombudsmen at all levels, state and federal." Indeed, if there is a fear of arbitrariness in governmental institutions, which is reflected in the whole spectrum of conservative thought, why not establish an independent office where grievances can be investigated with the force of law? As we said before, this is one political action which deserves the endorsement of conservatives as well as liberals.

Hans Falck's article "All Charities Should Be Abolished" is less utopian than it may appear on first glance. A few weeks ago federal welfare officials announced that they are experimenting with deleting costly investigations in favor of letting the applicant sign welfare declaration forms. At present the system is being tried out in Colorado, West Virginia, and California in the Old Age Assistance programs. This reflects a philosophy that aid to the ailing and needy should be approached as a right and not a handout. A check on these forms showed a 3 per cent error, very few of which were the result of fraud. In general, the forms are proving more accurate than case worker investigations!

Following Fred Lindecke's review (Vol. 4, No. 11) of an unpublicized Missouri Law greatly facilitating the consolidation of school districts (which was reprinted in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*) numerous merger petitions were filed in St. Louis County. At present these petitions, some of which overlap, await a court interpretation.

Lorenzo W. Milam and Jeremy D. Lansman, two young broadcasting enthusiasts, finally won out over the segregationist Christian Fundamental Church in establishing a new FM radio station in St. Louis. FOCUS Midwest readers will remember Mr. Milam's "Radio, A Wasteland by FCC Order." (Vol. 4, No. 1) in which he described the shortcomings of the FCC proceedings. After the FCC approved their competitor's application, Milam and Lansman filed an appeal which culminated in a reversal of the review board's decision by the full commission. Congratulations!

# FORECAST: THE 1968 ELECTION

**I**LLINOIS Democrats failed to elect Paul H. Douglas to his fourth Senate term. Many causes that were championed by Paul Douglas must now find other champions or die in the U.S. Senate. Those most in danger are "Truth in Lending," reform of the Federal income tax structure and the repeal of rule 22 which permits lengthy filibustering.

Importantly, Adlai Stevenson III was elected state treasurer. A well-known name helped, but Earl Eisenhower with an equally well-known



name went down to defeat for the office of clerk of Cook County. Stevenson's outstanding record as a first term legislator in last session's blue-ribbon House of Representatives, his independence of the Daley machine, and a vigorous statewide campaign in which he projected a positive program for the treasurer's office were more important to the final result than the name.

Ray Page was reelected to the post of Superintendent of Public Instruction despite a very well run campaign by Donald Price.

One man, Russell Arrington of Evanston, comes out a sure victor in the state Senate. Arrington's vigorous campaigning, help in fund raising, and campaign assistance succeeded in electing 38 Republican senators as compared to 20 Democrats in the Senate. This victory makes him Mr. Republican in Illinois and gives him in effect an absolute veto power over any proposed legislation. At this moment, he may well be the most powerful figure in Illinois politics. Despite this fact, reapportionment has improved the quality of Senators sitting on the Democratic side of the aisle. The election to the Senate of Cecil Partee, James Loukas, Esther Saperstein, Richard Newhouse, and Charles

Chew guarantees that Arrington will find an informed and fighting opposition.

A real test of Arrington's ability in this session will be his efforts to work with his fellow Republicans in the House. Should he adopt an arrogant stance and refuse to consider seriously legislation which they send over, his party position will be weakened considerably. We can expect a record number of bills to be acted on in this session. A strong open occupancy bill has been introduced. We can expect a host of proposals for reforms of the Illinois tax structure following the defeat of the proposed Revenue Amendment.

The shift in a single election from 59 Republicans to 99 Republicans — with several of the incumbents not seeking reelection — brings several freshmen into the legislature. Among those are Ed Copeland and Art Teleser, both of whom ran outstanding campaigns against great odds. They can be expected to foster liberal legislation.

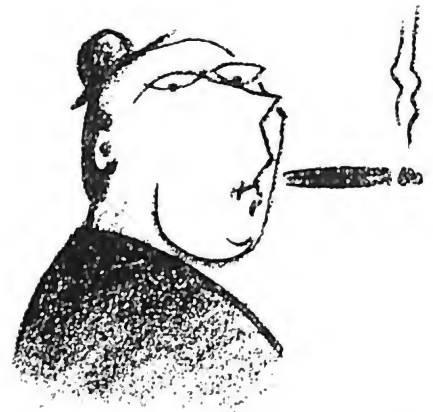
Illinois congressional races showed no surprise. Roman Pucinski and William Murphy won narrow victories despite the much publicized backlash vote. Only one incumbent, Gale Schisler of London Mills, failed to win reelection. In this instance, a normally Republican district had elected Schisler, a Democrat, in the Johnson landslide of 1964. Subsequently, the district was made even more Republican by the addition of Whiteside county in the 1965 reapportionment. The



amazing thing was that Schisler ran such a close race against Tom Railsback, a popular and capable state representative.

**T**HE county races in Cook County were significant. Illinois is the outstanding example of spoils politics.

The custom is for precincts to be manned by job holders. In some instances there may be as many as 15 or 20 in a single precinct. Because



Cook County has so many patronage jobs and embraces more than half the population of the state, the control of patronage rich offices in Cook County can bring about political control of the state.

In this election, the three richest patronage offices: president of the county board, sheriff, and treasurer went to the Republicans. Two of these men, Richard Ogilvie, incoming county board president, and Ed Kucharski, newly elected treasurer have pledged themselves to remove patronage from the offices. It is in fact to their advantage to bring about reforms since these offices will not remain in Republican hands.

**T**RYING to pick up the political gossip among Illinois Democrats and Republicans is not a difficult task for a new arrival on the state scene. So long as the conversation remains "off the record" with no direct quotations, Illinois political leaders are as talkative as others around the nation.

Republicans are more optimistic about 1968 than the Democrats. The Republicans obviously have three things going for them right now: 1) dissatisfaction with the Lyndon Johnson administration; 2) a scandal-ridden operation in the secretary of state's office; and 3) a governor facing a third term who won last time only because of the Goldwater land-



# NS IN ILLINOIS

By Thomas Nally

slide and who is considerably weaker today than he was in 1964.

Illinois Democrats can — and probably will — do something about two of those three factors. The third, the LBJ candidacy, they hope will improve with peace in Vietnam and/or other events.

While it is much too early to make solid predictions, this seems to be the line-up:

#### *For Democrats*

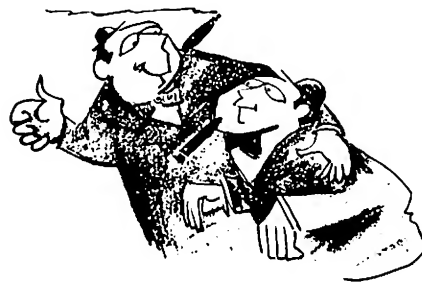
**Governor:** The dominant political power is Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago. He has announced that he favors Governor Otto Kerner for a third term. But political insiders believe that will stand only until the legislative session and gubernatorial vetoes are over. Then the governor will be eased from the scene in favor of Adlai E. Stevenson III as the likely 1968 candidate. Stevenson won in a GOP year, has real ability, has shown genuine independence, and is a better handshaker than his father was. If it is not Stevenson, other possibilities include State Auditor Michael Howlett, Attorney General William Clark, and Ben Heine-mann, head of the Northwestern Railroad.

**U.S. Senator:** This year the "down-state seat" is up, and there appears to be general agreement that the nomination of a Cook County candidate would be an invitation to defeat. Republicans have much going for them already in the well-publicized incumbency of Everett Dirksen, and downstate they would again use the emotional and effective argument: "Do you want two U.S. Senators from Cook County?" Leading prospect right now is State Senator Paul Simon, generally acknowledged to be the most popular down-state Democratic figure, who is also well-liked in the Chicago suburbs. His star is likely to remain high if the Democrats face difficulties as 1968 approaches. If things start looking better, someone less independent than Simon may be chosen. Simon is popular with the newspapers and the public, less popular with political leaders. If Democrats decide they

cannot win against Dirksen, a Cook County candidate may be chosen to strengthen that county ticket. Possibilities include Adlai E. Stevenson III, Congressman Sidney Yates, Congressman Roman Pucinski, and Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz.

**Secretary of State:** There is general agreement that Paul Powell should not be a candidate again — and many believe that Powell is shrewd enough politically to know this. Most talked-about possible replacement is State Auditor Michael Howlett, who has done an effective job as state auditor and has hit the Rotary Club and knife-and-fork circuit more than any other state official. If Powell has a voice in the choice of his successor, it is not likely to be Howlett. But the Powell power appears to be on the wane.

**Other State Offices:** There is much talk about the need for "new faces." Incumbents obviously are not encouraging such talk. If there are new



men on the ballot, they may include Abner Mikva from Chicago, if he does not run for Congress; Robert Mann, lesser known but a bright legislator also from Chicago; James Alexander, Lawrence County ex-legislator; Richard Wolfe, who made an impressive though losing battle for congress last year; State Senator Alan J. Dixon of Belleville; and Representative Dan Pierce of Lake County.

#### *For Republicans*

**Governor:** Cook County Board President Richard Ogilvie almost certainly will be the candidate. The leading vote-getter in Cook County in 1966, he strengthens the GOP ticket considerably. Philosophically a conservative, he has a reputation for

being "clean" in a county where scandals have not been uncommon. A long shot: John Henry Altorfer of Peoria, who ran for lieutenant governor in 1964. Senate President Pro Tem Russell Arrington is an even longer shot.

**United States Senator:** Despite his age and frequent hospital trips, Everett Dirksen seems likely to go again. If he should not, look for Congressman Paul Findley of Pike County to throw his hat in. But if Dirksen does step aside there will be a host of fedoras in the ring.

**Secretary of State:** State Senator Donald Carpentier of Rock Island County is making noises and his name automatically makes him a strong contender. John Kirby, who ran for state auditor in 1964, is another likely candidate. Harris Rowe, who barely lost to Stevenson in 1966, is another.

**Other State Offices:** There are a host of possibilities: former State Treasurer William Scott, perhaps for attorney general or lieutenant governor; State Senator Harris Fawell of DuPage County; Elroy Sandquist Jr. of Cook County, who ran for attorney general in 1964; Alderman Jack Sperling of Chicago; Rep. John Parkhurst of Peoria; and House Speaker Ralph Smith of Alton.

Change is an essential characteristic of politics, and this line-up may change considerably for either party before 1968. But in February 1967, that's the way it looks.

Who would the winners be? Going way out on a limb, here's what some responsible Republicans and Democrats think:

**For President:** Even with peace in Vietnam, LBJ is a loser against anyone but Nixon in Illinois.

**For Governor:** Ogilvie against anyone but Stevenson, and a squeaker if it's Stevenson.

**For U.S. Senator:** Dirksen against anyone but Simon, and a close one if Simon is the candidate.

**For Secretary of State:** Howlett, if he is the candidate, and the GOP in a landslide if Powell is the candidate.

## ALL CHARITIES SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

Philanthropies  
are as Antiquated  
as Voluntary Control  
of Air Pollution

**Hans S. Falck**

Do people have a *right to social services* that will solve their difficulties?

Since it is our argument that charities and philanthropies are out of place in a mature society, social services should not be a matter of privilege but should be *guaranteed by law*.

In a developed society responses to human needs are channeled through organizational forms. In consequence, we may say that such services should be met by public agencies financed primarily by tax funds, and not by voluntary, private agencies financed primarily by non-tax funds.

The "right" to welfare services should be integrated into our legal system because, pragmatically, it offers the only *workable* alternative to the continuing and intensifying deterioration of social conditions; and, philosophically, human needs precede in fact and in importance the service rendered.

Let us briefly explore the eminence of human need. Any social welfare situation always includes a person in need, the potential service to relieve this need, and the universe, the society within which both operate. It is always the quality of need which determines the value of the service. Tools (services, agencies, funding, counselling) are measured in terms of their effectiveness. Similarly, American idealism views society—and not only the social service—as a function of the individual. The society, we say, exists for the individual, not the reverse. Human need, therefore, precedes the form and direction of services, public or private, as well as the socio-political context within which such service is rendered.

If we answer positively the question whether human needs must be relieved — any other answer would offend our sense of survival — we must inquire next into the dimensions of need. Because men are entitled to life, they are entitled to an adequate diet, decent housing, sufficient clothes, total medical care, adequate treatment for mental health problems, and the freedom and opportunity to search for values.

What private agency can address itself to the fact that half the hospital beds in the United States are in psychiatric institutions? What constellation of agencies can hope to measure up to the societal demands for food, clothing, health, and shelter? We have tried for many years and have abysmally failed. "Topping" the United Fund goal is the height of irony. We haven't begun to provide services which would uphold the humaneness of our neighbor. The United Fund, and most other fund-raising agencies, are classic examples where the service defines the need, rather than the opposite.

The services required can only be guaranteed by the resources and participation — in part or in full — of government: local, state, or, preferably, federal. Human needs have outgrown the fiscal and manpower resources of private charity. Services as a matter of privilege, which can be arbitrarily withdrawn, are as antiquated as voluntary control of air pollution, sewage disposal, and other community problems.

The mere involvement of government does not mean that private agencies should go out of business. Their place will be to work for social welfare on the public front, to speak out and lobby for better social services, to conduct research and experiment with new techniques, to watch the administration of services, and insure democratic and not arbitrary practices. The future of the private agency would be assured.

Hasn't America considered welfare services as a right? Not at all. Whether it was social security, job benefits, or medicare, they were offered *ex post facto*. These laws were passed in a mood of emergency. The need (not the right) was recognized. In no case was there at work some overriding social principle. What has been at work ever since early in the 19th century is pure, blatant pragmatism which has come into play whenever a dire situation evolved that was

neglected until it was almost too late. Such pragmatism militates against planning ahead.

Of course, the evolution of political life based on the moods of a pragmatic rather than a principled society permits adjustment and flexibility. The current urban turmoil suggests that these advantages are outweighed by the neglect of the human condition.

If we accept the philosophy of "the right to welfare services," we must guarantee them legally, establishing eligibility measured by objective, federal standards.

A footnote should be added as to what this approach means to the political left. While the liberal can function to his satisfaction in a society which either accepts services as a privilege or one which guarantees them as a right, the new radical left cannot. The radical — whom this writer understands but with whom he cannot agree — sees himself immersed in a society which neglects its members. He does not share the values of that society but he cannot change society because he is also without power. As so well described by Prof. James Hitchcock in the last issue of *FOCUS/Midwest*, the radical perceives himself as without sin. His purity is affronted by the asocial concerns of the private economic sector against which he cannot revolt and with which he cannot live. While the liberal survives well, vacillating between righteousness and workability, the radical despairs.

The right of social services guaranteed by law offers the only workable, positive program for the radical. This approach circumvents the loci of economic power. Human needs will be relieved by government responsive to a broader population base than any private agency and their philanthropic boards. Rather than trying to change the establishment, which is futile anyway, the radical can ignore it, since private economic power, which dominates private agencies, can influence but not shape the role of government.

*Hans S. Falck is professor of social work at Washington University and president of the St. Louis Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.*

# Will Missouri Fail Again?

*A Frank View of Gov. Hearnes' Position on Title 19*

Governor Hearnes' message to Missouri's 74th General Assembly reversed his previous stand on Aid to Dependent Children of the Unemployed and recognized that present laws encourage desertion rather than "being oriented toward the solidarity of the family unit." The message recommended that Missouri laws permit families to receive assistance without forcing the father to desert. Unfortunately, Missouri is five years late in considering this change. Other minor changes in Missouri's welfare laws recommended by the Governor were also long overdue.

On the other hand, the Governor's view and legislative recommendations for medical services for public assistance recipients are disappointing. He proposed a patchwork improvement in the present inadequate programs instead of Title 19. The Governor gave preferential treatment to certain population groups (the aged) and providers of service (proprietary nursing homes) and neglected to improve significantly services to dependent children. Only a complete overhauling of Missouri's medical assistance program can eradicate present inadequacies. The Missouri Legislature will have the opportunity to pass an adequate measure by substituting Rep. Thomas Walsh's bill on Title 19 which is co-sponsored by 18 legislators. The Governor's statement that he will not oppose the bill is encouraging.

The Health and Welfare Council of Metropolitan St. Louis has recently submitted to Governor Warren E. Hearnes a well-documented report which proposes the immediate implementation of the first phase of Title 19. This report was the result of a careful 10-month study by a blue-ribbon citizens committee under the chairmanship of Dr. William H. Danforth, vice-chancellor for Medical Affairs at Washington University. Numerous groups and officials such as Mayor Davis of Kansas City and Mayor Cervantes of St. Louis have endorsed the proposal.

In the midst of this overwhelming urban approval came a strange sound: the Governor of Missouri sharply criticized Congress for approving Title 19 and its stipulation that by



*Gov. Warren E. Hearnes*

1975 all states must provide comprehensive care to all who are medically indigent. Governor Hearnes urged Congress to amend the requirements that the states must provide five basic medical services and pay part of it. "We use the same guidelines in state government spending that a wise household budget requires — There is no room for a new car or house, or any other major expenditure, unless foreseeable income pays for them."

All the premises of this reasoning are wrong. Unlike purchase of a new car, the ill must receive care irrespective of the availability of funds. Every civilized government accepts this responsibility. But much more important: the funds required are minimal and readily available.

The St. Louis Health and Welfare Council estimates that Title 19 would, if fully implemented, result in a 42-million-dollar annual program. The federal government would pay 58.4 per cent. The state would pay for only \$17,500,000. Today, Missouri is spending \$5,637,500. The legislature would have to increase its appropriation by less than 12 million dollars. This is not a major item. (In 1966, the Missouri Legislature came up with a 68 million dollar surplus!)

Since Title 19 went into effect last January, twenty-five states have already implemented this program. This medical assistance and rehabilitation program improves present medical provisions for the needy and by 1970 replaces the medical aid now available under the Social Security Act. Contrary to the Governor's speech, Title 19 grants individual states great latitude in who shall be

covered and what services will be offered.

Fortunately, it does require the states that choose to implement the law to cover the neediest of the needy, the recipients of the public assistance programs, and to provide for them five basic services and to treat all groups equally. In the light of Missouri's past performance this was a wise and humane decision by our federal lawmakers.

The Governor's comments betray an unawareness of the evolution of federal-state relationships in the health and social welfare field and the extent to which states such as Missouri are responsible for the requirements of Title 19.

The inclusion of positive requirements is a recent development in federal social welfare legislation. It is the result of the failure of many states to carry out the intent of prior laws which did not include positive requirements. Missouri was and is a conspicuous example. It has a history of implementing only federal programs which provide favorable reimbursement formulas, and ignoring those without a mandate of implementation. Missouri's failure to implement the ADC-U and the Medical Assistance for the Aged program and its excessive reliance on federal funds in the categorical assistance programs are outstanding examples. It is strange that the plea for states rights comes from a Governor whose state relies disproportionately upon federal funds for welfare programs. In other contexts we always hear that individuals not only have "rights" but also "responsibilities." So do states! The time has come for Missouri to stop pleading poverty and assume some responsibility.

There are compelling reasons for the immediate implementation of the limited Title 19 proposals. It would honor a pledge in the Missouri Democratic platform. It would provide some financial relief to our cities. It would provide adequate medical care to about a quarter million Missourians, including ninety thousand children. It may become the first reversal in Missouri's disappointing performance in providing for the welfare of its citizens.



*A solid blanket of air pollutants moves towards St.  
Louis from the Illinois side of the Mississippi.*



# Industry Dominates Illinois Air Pollution Board

## STAFF REPORT

**T**HE noxious public record of the Illinois Air Pollution Board proves irrefutably that it is industry which sways the majority of its members. Its subservience is neither subtle nor devious.

A few comparisons will provide a telling indictment:

While federal officials recently declared in Kansas City that after years of experimenting the devices employed in pollution control are no mystery, the chairman of the Illinois Board declared that it will be years before controls can be enforced in some industries because they are beyond the ability of present technology.

While federal officials told industry in Kansas City to clean up their emissions in six to twelve months, the Illinois Board, for example, negotiated with the grain elevator industry for two years and then gave them an additional five to implement the agreement.

While the Missouri Air Conservation Commission was formed two years after the Illinois Board, it has already promulgated comprehensive standards for the Missouri side of the St. Louis metropolitan area, conducted hearings, and is about to adopt them formally. Except for regulations affecting the open burning of dumps in the counties facing the St. Louis area, the Illinois Board has not adopted any control regulations in that area.

**T**HE Illinois Board has the power to establish and enforce pollution control standards. In Chicago, a local agency has been entrusted with this task; however, the record of pollution control there is nearly as dismal as in the rest of the state.

Late in 1963 the Illinois Board was formed. In terms of the time elapsed, this state agency has done very little. As far as the St. Louis-East St. Louis area is concerned, the first two years of inaction were

justified because during that period a major study of the metropolitan area was being conducted by a study committee consisting of public agencies on both sides of the Mississippi, and the federal government. (\*)

The recommendations of this report, generally called the Interstate Study Report, were issued on May 31, 1966. In the eight months since that time, the Illinois Board has drafted an extremely limited set of regulations, covering only some of the known problems, and has now scheduled hearings on them.

Even more alarming than the delay is the substance of the recommended regulations. The Board has emasculated the recommended controls of the Interstate Study Report. Its "standards" correspond closely with the demands of the industrial polluters on the Illinois side of the St. Louis area. In fact, they are so diluted that they are totally unacceptable to the air pollution control experts of the U.S. Public Health Service, and of the City and County of St. Louis.

Of course, not every member of the Illinois Board regards the interests of the polluters above those of the breathers. Among the exceptions is Richard Reinke, a labor leader. However, the public-minded minority is overwhelmed by those who yield to the demands of the Illinois Manufacturers Association, the Industrial Waste Control Council, and similar industrial bodies.

Industry is represented on the Board by the two most knowledgeable and assertive members: Raymond D. Maxson, a former vice president and engineer of Commonwealth Edison Co., one of the worst coal burning polluters in the Chicago area; and

Paul B. Hodges, of the Monsanto Chemical Co., one of the major industrial polluters of the Greater St. Louis area. With the assistance of the staff, they dominate the Board members.

Chairman of the Board is Jack Bregman. He is the assistant director of the Research Institute of Chicago, which is affiliated with the Illinois Institute of Technology. The Research Institute receives no funds from IIT, but directly from government and private industry. Scientists at the Illinois Institute of Technology also drafted Chicago's pollution control ordinance. The School is heavily supported by major industries.

**A**SIDE from the general observations mentioned earlier, testifying to the Board's inefficiency, there are specific happenings which give emphasis to the Board's allegiance to industry.

When Monsanto and American Zinc constructed new sulfuric acid manufacturing units outside East St. Louis in the company-town of Monsanto, Illinois, approximately two miles from the St. Louis Gateway Arch and the Mansion House apartments, the companies cooperated fully with the Illinois Board, but ignored the Missouri Air Conservation Commission, although probably more residents of Missouri than of Illinois would be affected by the sulfur pollution from this new installation. Ultimately, an Illinois Board spokesman apologized for the lax controls on the new installation by citing the sulfur emissions of utility plants, which have no control processes. Why should a new plant, the spokesman asked, have stricter controls?

According to William H. Megonnell, chief of the U.S. Public Health Service air pollution abatement section, Chicago ranks second in the nation in dirty air. (In 1964, Chicago was the third dirtiest in the nation.) It

\* The committee consisted of the Illinois Air Pollution Board, The Illinois Department of Public Health, The East St. Louis Air Pollution Control Commission, The East Side Health District, The Bi-State Development Agency, The U. S. Public Health Service, The Missouri Division of Health, The St. Louis County Health Department, The St. Louis Division of Air Pollution Control, The St. Louis Department of Health and Hospitals, and St. Louis Chamber of Commerce.

Among the Illinois air polluters (top to bottom) in the St. Louis metropolitan area are Darling Fertilizer, Midwest Rubber Reclaims, and the Monsanto Company.



is so bad, he said, that if air were a packaged item, the Food and Drug Administration would ban its interstate shipment.

While Chicago's control standards adopted eight years ago are on the right track, the enforcement is poor. Although Chicago has an independent agency, the City's polluted air is also the fault of the Illinois Air Pollution Board because of its unwillingness to clamp down on the Chicago agency. It has the authority. As early as 1964, the Chicago Department of Air Pollution Control called the industrial polluters the City's major air problem. The steel industry was given seven years to comply fully with City's ordinance. The "negotiations" with the elevator industry were reported on earlier.

LATE last year, FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. V, No. 33) reported that the move to involve the East-West Gateway Council in the Greater St. Louis area is "the latest development in doing nothing." Unfortunately, events since then have verified this prognosis.

Just as in the case of the Illinois Air Pollution Board, the Illinois members of the Gateway Council, such as Alvin G. Fields, Mayor of East St. Louis, have succeeded in pushing through a recommendation for control standards which are wholly inadequate. St. Louis Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes immediately condemned these recommendations. He and Alderman Peter Simpson are now promoting controls which may be the strongest in the nation.

For example, technical advisors to the Gateway Council proposed a 2.25 per cent sulfur content limit, although the Interstate Study Report recommended a 1.4 per cent limit. However, the Gateway Council adopted a 3.3 per cent limit.

Curiously, columns of newsprint about the Gateway Council and its

deliberations were essentially meaningless. *The Council has no authority.* Its recommendations are mere expressions of hope that its members will follow through on the local level. Even if they wanted to, the member governments lack the power to do so.

There are only two bodies which can enact uniform regulations in the metropolitan area: the Missouri Commission and the Illinois Board. *They have the authority.* Because the Missouri Commission is more independent than its Illinois counterpart, it will be the first to adopt meaningful controls. Ultimately, it is hoped, the Illinois Board will be embarrassed into action.

The Gateway Council "votes" as well as the extensive St. Louis newspaper coverage of its deliberations are byplays of no consequence. Its only usefulness exists in comparing the Council's kinship to the Illinois Board. Typically, both the Illinois Board and the Gateway Council exempt the steel, cement, and oil refining industries, while the Missouri Air Conservation Commission grants no major exemptions.

THE abatement of air pollution in metropolitan areas straddling more than one state demands the enforcement of uniform controls in both states. This requires the creation of an independent interstate control agency, by a compact between the neighboring states, or, in the alternative, federal regulation.

Unfortunately, interstate compacts have been traditionally indecisive and ineffective. Usually, they are not directly politically accountable to the voters, they depend upon state legislatures for financing, and — without a third, neutral voice — they easily reach impasses. Lewis C. Green, chairman of the Missouri Commission, concludes that state compacts sacri-

fice effective action "on the altar of unanimity. The caravan plods along at the pace of the slowest camel." The situation is not much different in multi-state compacts.

Yet, Chairman Green points out, interstate compacts are the only alternative to doing nothing or absolute federal control — most likely the latter coming as a natural consequence of the first.

To institute a workable and effective compact, Green recommends the inclusion of a federal representative as a full-fledged voting member. This would also recognize the legitimate interest of the federal government. Moreover, the compact must have direct enforcement powers, and it must adopt uniform standards on both sides of the boundaries. Most important, its members should not be entirely appointed, but should include locally elected officials. The incumbents of several elective positions could become ex officio members. This innovation provides for local accountability to the electorate.

Such a compact is about to be formed in the Kansas City area between Kansas and Missouri. Green, who is also a constitutional lawyer, considers this innovation "the second great change in our federal system of government." After the era of states rights which lasted 150 years, the era of federal power which lasted 30 years, "we are now entering a new era."

"The challenge of the sixties is to throw off the shackles of the 'states rights' and 'federal power' shibboleths, to emerge from a 30-year era of rapidly accelerating centralization of power in Washington, and to devise a regional governmental mechanism," declares Green. "The action in Kansas City may stand for all time as a landmark in our federal system — as the first great step toward a regional, cooperative federal system of government."





*Partially cleaned St. Louis Post Office shows the effect of years of exposure to polluted air.*

For the first time, an interstate compact on a regulatory matter in which the federal government is an equal partner, implicating local elected officials in its enforcement, is being prepared for Kansas City.

In the past, Illinois wanted no part of such an effective and workable compact. Illinois preferred to create a compact consisting only of the states — which have the inherent tendency to deadlock over any substantial issue. It objects to the participation of a federal official, who can cast a decisive vote in deadlocks.

To iron out the differences between Illinois and Missouri, the governors of both states met recently. Governor Kerner favored a compact similar to one reached with Indiana which is now before Congress for ratification. However, that compact does not differ from past such efforts: it has appointed members and no federal representation. Unfortunately, Gov. Kerner also differs with the federal government and Gov. Hearnes in his evaluation of the state of our technology: "... the demands of the public for cleaner air are ahead of the technical and financial resources of the states and federal government in providing answers. . . ."

Upon the insistence of Gov. Hearnes, Kerner finally agreed to a federal representative on an interstate commission with a tie-breaking vote. This was a major departure for Illinois' past public stance. Kerner also agreed to give the compact commission the power to create an interstate authority to control pollution in a specific metropolitan area, which can be composed in part of local elected officials.

As we go to press, the two state agencies are drafting a compact embodying the principles agreed upon by the governors. It remains to be seen whether Illinois will really uphold their Governor's commitment.

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**St. Louis Mayor:**

## *Preventing Another Watts Is Up To Business*

**Alfonso J. Cervantes**

*The following are excerpts from an address delivered by the Hon. A. J. Cervantes, Mayor of the City of St. Louis, to the Central Area Conference of the Young Presidents Organization.*

**E**CONOMIC, social and physical factors have combined to bring a crisis to our urban centers.

Business and industry have as yet failed to fully play their role in meeting the problems of the central cities. Too often businessmen have brushed aside the needs of the more unfortunate people.

Gentlemen, those who think in those terms are wrong. Those people and their problems are there and they will be there.

They live in poverty now when business and employment are at all-time highs. That proves how overwhelming and permanent poverty can be in the inner cities. It points out too that now, if ever, is a time these people might be absorbed into the economy by being given the chance they need to earn their own way.

### *It Is Your Problem*

We have in the inner cities block after block of slums where people exist in hopelessness on the welfare handout. That is your problem. Something can be done about it.

If you do nothing, and if the efforts of others are not pushed, we could create in America a coast-to-coast chain of Super-Watts.

And every such Watts would have its fuse for an explosion. You have a choice between an explosion or a solution.

What evidence do I have that the Great American Cities will become a chain of Super-Watts unless we introduce a radical change? The evidence for yesterday and today are available from a review of the data of the United States Statistical Abstracts. The evidence for tomorrow

can be obtained by considering the present racial composition of the public school pupils in the city as compared with that of the suburbs.

### *The Racial Question*

We cannot hide the question of race. Nor do we wish to. Some of the most acute social problems in metropolitan areas revolve around the racial question. We recognize that 80 per cent of the disadvantaged in this country are whites but at the hard-core center of the cities' problems is how to integrate that non-white 20 per cent into the mainstream of the country's economy.

A look at the classrooms of today can give a preview of the American city of tomorrow. . . .

If this trend continues our cities will be co-extensive with a *de facto* segregated minority. If this trend continues the stage will be set for our great American cities to become an explosive chain of Super-Watts.

*It is true that great advances have been made by the Negro but relative to the whites, the Negro in the swift moving currents of our economy has been standing still or been carried backwards. He is still the last to be hired and the first to be fired; he is still earning little more than half of what the white man is earning; he is still troubled by twice the unemployment of the white if married; three times the unemployment if unmarried; and four times the unemployment rate of the whites if he is a teenage dropout. The white male who has had but a grade school education is making almost as much as the Negro college graduate.*

The existence of slums, the migra-



*Mayor Alfonso Cervantes*

tion of millions into the central cities, whether from farm or foreign shores, the middle-class flight to the suburbs, are not new phenomena. Throughout history the advantaged have fled from the disadvantaged. The core areas of our major municipalities have long served as ports of entry and processing depots for migrants at the lower end of the economic ladder. But there are new elements in the central cities today which make a series of Watts throughout the country increasingly probable.

### *The Three Explosions*

Within our own lifetime there have been three social explosions that have more than matched in their social impact the explosion of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima:

**The Population Explosion:** From a struggling nation of 4 million people at the beginning of our republic we are now 200 million and half a century from now, 320 million of our 400 million Americans will live in cities. In less than 35 years — between now and the end of this century — urban population will double and we will have to build in our cities, as President Johnson pointed out, as much as has been built since the first settler arrived on these shores.

**The Economic Explosion:** Eight years after the first census of the United States was taken, Thomas Malthus predicted that "the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power of the earth to produce subsistence for man." If Malthus could sit up in his grave today and look across the Atlantic to his native England's former colony where the population has multiplied geometrically but the food supply has multiplied astronomically, he might wonder what happened to his theory. The first half of the 20th century will be

known, not so much for the launching of two world wars, but more for demonstrating that a mushrooming population can more than be provided for by an exploding economy.

*The Academic Explosion:* A sophisticated economy based upon power tools and computer, upon engineer and the professional has no room at the bottom for unskilled labor. "The uneducated need not apply" is the unseen sign on every employment door.

This then is the economic world into which the modern disadvantaged city dweller tries to find his niche. The large numbers of southern rural Negroes who have been propelled into the center of the metropolitan whirlpool find themselves particularly ill prepared.

Most of them come poorly equipped for the highly competitive system into which they are thrust. Handicapped by restrictive education, lacking in the skills necessary for an industrial society, without the family tradition and network of friends to provide them with employment support, victimized by discrimination, they are the most vulnerable to unemployment and underemployment.

Unlike earlier migrant groups they are denied the social, residential, and employment mobility because of the color of their skin. This low rate of mobility has moreover limited the growth in numbers of Negro intellectuals and the professionals and business elite who provided much of the leadership for various other ethnic groups.

They have arrived in the middle of a technological upheaval when unskilled jobs are all but non-existent. The majority remain marginal members of the dominant culture huddled together in the seething ghettos of the central cities.

### *Flight To The Suburbs*

As the white middle-class population has fled the city for the suburb so likewise has industry and business. . . . Within 15 years in the City of Saint Louis 3000 businesses and industries closed their doors and 50,000 unreplaced job slots were lost. On a national level during the last decade manufacturing employment dropped within the central city in nine of the nation's ten largest metropolitan districts.

The eroding tax base, the mounting cost of the escalating services required for the disadvantaged, the

vicious cycle of unemployment in three generation relief-families, the unwillingness of welfare recipients to go off relief and seek a job for fear of not being able to get back on the relief roles, the islands of poverty amidst the sea of plenty, broken homes, latch-key children, promiscuity, vandalism, irresponsibility, slums caused by absentee landlords and present tenants, glue-sniffing, drugs for kicks, racial hatreds and violence, youth — out of school and out of work refusing to soil their hands for \$1.25 an hour — all of these are the growing growling prelude to social disturbances.

### *What You Can Do*

What then can the businessman do? What can the industrialist do to better his own economic situation while at the same time alleviating the situation of the central cities?

In line with our efforts and experience in St. Louis, let me make these practical suggestions:

Investigate the possibilities of profitably hiring the disadvantaged unemployed.

Business executives must reevaluate their recruiting and training programs in light of the needs and potentials of the disadvantaged.

1. *Recruitment must reach out to the central city neighborhood level to reach the long time, chronically unemployed adult and the inexperienced, raw teen-ager.* Recently Ford Motor Company in Saint Louis accepted my invitation to install a mobile employment office right in front of City Hall within walking distance of the slum disadvantaged. A bus pass or transportation facilities must frequently be provided to the disadvantaged for at least the first few weeks of training and work experience.

2. *Client evaluation: Traditional testing procedures offered in a vacuum of other supportive services such as medical, legal, educational, hygienic, domestic and personal counseling, have proved unfruitful with the disadvantaged.* The disadvantaged are poorly motivated and "testshy" with standard testing instruments.

They need extra services such as that of a "buddy" system with a regular employee assigned to them who does his best to make them feel at home and initiate them into the ways of the employment world. Carson Pirie Scott & Co. in Chicago and the Civic Development in St.

Louis have successfully established such a "coaching" system.

3. *Vocational training: While lack of marketable skills is recognized as the largest common problem of the central city unemployed, most business executives have not seriously tried to develop the quantity and range of vocational training opportunities necessary to train or retrain large numbers of the unemployed.*

4. *Job Development for the Disadvantaged:* Private industry has found that by breaking down highly complex and complicated jobs into separate components, many entry jobs may be provided for the disadvantaged. In this way the disadvantaged acquire the exposure to employment that they need and the industrialist acquires the scarce manpower that he needs.

5. *The Establishment of Sheltered Workshops:* National experience in training and hiring the disadvantaged indicates that 50 per cent drop out of the training programs or lose their first job within a short time. However, even under present inadequate programs 75 per cent finally make their way into the mainstream of the American way of life. But no matter how much we increase the efficiency of our training programs there will always be great numbers (perhaps as high as 25 percent) of the disadvantaged for whom competitive employment is a virtual impossibility. These include the severely retarded, the severely handicapped, the older unskilled worker, the emotionally disturbed. Private industry can assist with the establishing of sheltered workshops which when well administered can be close to self-supporting. Business executives can profitably subcontract to such workshops.

### *On Their Part*

I am not proposing today that the training and hiring of the disadvantaged is a one-way street to be travelled only by the business executive. It is a two-way street that must likewise be travelled by the disadvantaged themselves.

My purpose simply is to indicate my conviction that the problem of the cities will not be solved until private industry takes its rightful role. In failing to do so it has set the stage of what well may become in the expanding series of Great American Cities — an explosive chain of Super-Watts.





*This is home for a family of eight*



*Clarence W. Lee, Mayor of Kinloch*



*Among the dreams of Mayor Lee is this community facility designed by Donald P. Wilson (pointing) of Washington University under the supervision of Prof. George Anselevicius (on Wilson's right). Sharing in the deliberations are local officials (l. to r.) Woodrow T. Hughes, Napoleon Williams, Lee, Seay, and (on the extreme right) Mrs. Zoletia Mosley. Kinloch hopes to raise \$200 to \$300,000 in the St. Louis area in order to qualify for \$400 to \$600,000 in federal funds.*

# The Other Mayor Lee/John Kramer

*"Integration is good; segregation is bad." "The health of children should be regularly checked." "Every municipality must have a budget." These and many other supposedly self-evident conclusions are often irrelevant in particular situations. A classic example of such a situation is the municipality of Kinloch in St. Louis County, Missouri.*

*Kinloch is an all-Negro community. Recently, the scholarly Governmental Research Institute endorsed the merger of Berkeley and Ferguson in a 115-page report financed by both cities. While the merger would totally enclose the City of Kinloch, the study did not say one word about Kinloch.*

*"The Other Mayor Lee" by John Kramer, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Missouri (St. Louis) points to the difficulty in applying rigid standards to uncharted social situations, it suggests the impossibility of applying an abstract liberal philosophy arbitrarily, and, in a rather pathetic way, it illustrates also the practical shortcomings of the Black Power notion.*

*The article is based on research currently underway in Kinloch. The research, conducted by Kramer and Dr. Ingo Walter, assistant professor of economics, is sponsored by a grant from the U. S. Health, Education, and Welfare Department, Social Security Administration.*

**M**ENTION "Mayor Lee" at a gathering of urban affairs specialists and you are apt to turn the conversation toward renewal and rehabilitation in New Haven, Connecticut. Richard C. Lee, New Haven's Mayor since 1953, has achieved national stature for reversing, in that city, the ubiquitous trend toward urban blight and decay.

While Dick Lee justly earns his accolades, another Mayor Lee labors to transform a unique community deep in the Midwest. Without nationwide publicity, and with none of the indigenous resources available in New Haven, Mayor Clarence Lee of Kinloch, Missouri, works to eradicate substandard conditions and end the waste of human lives in his city of approximately 8000. Clarence Lee is a Negro, and Kinloch has an all-Negro population.

In his most trying moments, New Haven's Lee never has to face the absolute problems that exist in Kinloch. Kinloch's Clarence Lee deals instead with acquiring the bare essentials of twentieth-century living. He fights for basics: indoor toilets, lighted streets, employment opportunities for his unskilled constituents, and rudimentary police protection.

## The City

In population, Kinloch is second largest of the dozen self-governing Negro communities in the United States. It is not, as one might suspect, located just off Tabacco Road in some remote rural area. Instead, its 481 acres are locked solidly between two middle-class, white suburbs in the

center of prosperous St. Louis County. Although Kinloch is ecologically suburban, six miles from the borders of St. Louis City, it hardly shares the affluence of its immediate neighbors.

With the exception of its center, where Federal renewal funds have been used to erect 100 row-type public housing units, Kinloch resembles a Negro residential area in some medium-size Southern city. There are no tenements. The streets are lined with a variety of single-family dwellings. A few of the modest homes are well-built and neatly kept, but most were hastily put together and now are in various stages of deterioration. Many of the roads are unpaved. Vacant lots are overgrown and littered. At high noon on any pleasant weekday, idle men sun themselves in front of taverns on Kinloch's main street.

The town totally lacks industry, and the few existing retail establishments are small, unattractive, and generally offer high-priced merchandise. Less than ten percent of the homes are served by sewers. Most rely on septic tanks, drainage fields, or what sanitation experts euphemistically call "direct flow." Kinloch's vital statistics are dismal. Some random examples: 38 per cent of the city's families receive some kind of state welfare assistance, the median family income is \$3,075, 43 per cent of the residents over age 25 have less than eight years of education, and the adult male unemployment rate consistently hovers about ten per cent, over twice the national average.

A series of natural and man-made

barriers isolate the city. Indeed, Kinloch is so cut off from the surrounding white suburbs that the Peace Corps has used the town as a training site for its Liberia-bound volunteers.

To the east, the town of Ferguson maintains a one foot strip of land along the Kinloch boundary. Roads through Ferguson stop at this easement, overgrown with brush, only to start again on the Kinloch side of the barrier.

To the north, residents of the City of Berkeley have fenced their backyards at the Kinloch city limits, creating a sort of "Kinloch Wall."

At the western edge of the city, a major commuter highway to downtown St. Louis, and a 50-yard-wide power company right-of-way, effectively separate Kinlochians from those beyond.

Finally, at the southern edge of the town, a creek trickles along the dividing line. There is only one major road into Kinloch, and the few white motorists who wander in by mistake often experience a feeling akin to panic as they try to find an exit.

## The History

There are varying accounts about the coming of the first Negroes to Kinloch. One story suggests that the town once was a way-station on the pre-Civil War underground railroad, and a few escaping slaves remained to start small farms on the unused soil. Until 1937, cities of Berkeley and Kinloch constituted a single quasi-community, an unincorporated area in St. Louis County, with whites in their section and the Negroes in theirs. The entire district was known as Kinloch, after the Scottish Baron of Kinloch who held first title to the land.

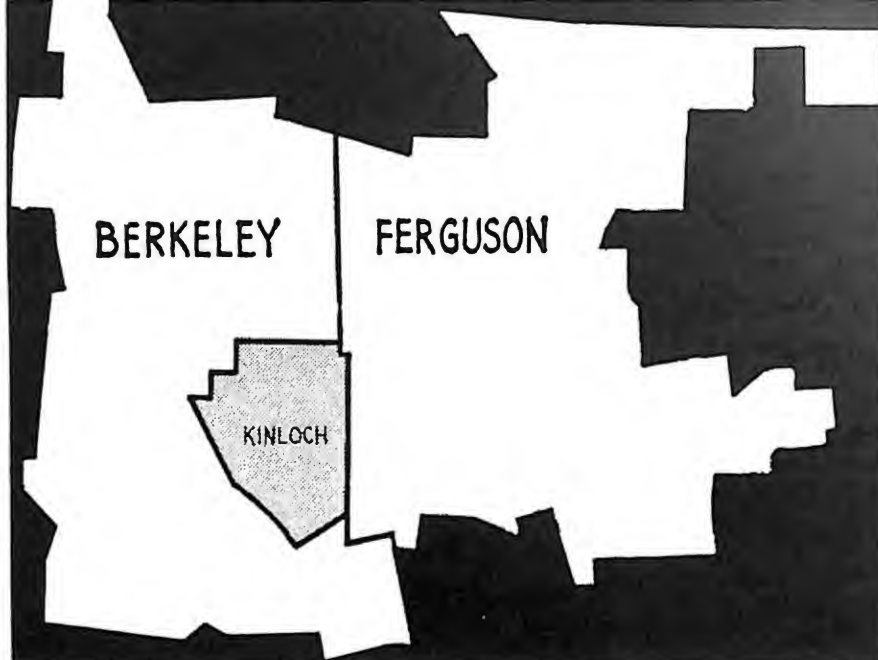
In the mid 1930s, Kinloch's whites and Negroes began to quarrel over the allocation of funds to the district's "separate but equal" schools. One of the Negroes' complaints was the reluctance of the white-dominated school board to establish a colored high school. With feelings running high, the whites' solution was to incorporate themselves as a separate city. They christened the gerrymandered municipality Berkeley, after the "Berkeley Orchard" subdivision in which most of them lived, and drew the boundaries to exclude

Negroes. Of course, most of the tax base went with the whites, and the Negroes were left with little more than the community's original name.

From 1934 until 1948, Kinloch's Negroes remained unincorporated. Necessary municipal services were provided by St. Louis County. Kinlochians who remember this period unanimously agree that County support was meager. They also agree that the County police force was made up largely of transplanted white Southerners, whose behavior toward Negroes hardly produced love and affection. To gain some control over their community affairs, and to obtain what one long-time resident calls "something better than nothing," 2000 Negro citizens of Kinloch submitted their own incorporation petition in 1948. Missouri quickly granted their request for self-government and, on the first night of autonomy, Kinlochians celebrated with a mass prayer meeting to thank the Lord for deliverance.

Under Missouri laws, an incorporated city must provide for most of its own community needs. Hence, incorporation was a gamble for Kinloch. Local autonomy requires a financial capacity and, ideally, experienced leadership. Kinloch had neither. The new city's assessed property valuation in 1948 was slightly less than a million dollars, by far the least satisfactory tax base for any incorporated area in St. Louis County. The first mayor was a hod carrier, attempting to deal with the problems of an infant municipal government on a part-time basis.

The city almost succumbed before it reached its first birthday. In 1949 a group of Kinloch pragmatists, disturbed at such makeshift facilities as an all-volunteer police force operating without patrol cars, petitioned to disincorporate. A St. Louis County judge ordered disincorporation, but his decision was overruled on a technicality by the Missouri Supreme Court. The disincorporation petition, fought bitterly by Kinloch's first city officials, barely lacked sufficient signatures. Without the resources for another round in the courts, the disincorporation proponents decided not to make another try by petition, instead to let the city fall of its own weight. Eighteen years later Kinloch remains incorporated, the cries for disincorporation are present but muted, and the weight is being lifted ever so slowly.



*A merger of Berkeley and Ferguson in St. Louis County is now under consideration. Although the new city would completely surround Kinloch, it is not expected to be invited to join in the merger. Kinloch Mayor Lee doesn't see how his city could join since it "would bankrupt the other two communities to bring Kinloch up to their level in education, streets, and so forth. Only the federal government can meet the profound needs in Kinloch."*

### Mayor Lee

Clarence Lee is Kinloch's fifth mayor. He is tall, dark-skinned, and bears some resemblance to Jackie Robinson in the latter's thinner days. Within the community's ingrown society, where many residents take pride in tracing a three or four generation Kinloch ancestry, Lee is a relative newcomer. He was born in St. Louis in 1924, graduated from that city's then segregated Sumner High School, and moved to Kinloch in 1947 at the insistence of his new bride, a life-long Kinlochian who preferred suburban style poverty to the kind offered by Lee's native urban ghetto.

Kinloch, in 1947, was beginning to stir with the notion it could govern itself and Clarence Lee, working as a clerk by day and going to classes at St. Louis University at night, found himself caught up in the fervor. Like many other residents of the new city, he attended regularly the bi-monthly meetings of the Board of Aldermen. Within a year he joined Kinloch's incipient Young Democrats, a logical party affiliation after a boyhood spent in an apartment directly above Democratic Headquarters in St. Louis' North Side. Using his tenure in the Young Democrats and his newly-acquired position as vice-president of that organization as justification for a campaign based on personal political experience, Lee

ran unsuccessfully for an aldermanic seat in 1955. He tried again in 1956, this time winning the first of what is now a string of six consecutive victories at the city's polls.

After five years as Alderman, Lee was elected to his initial two-year term as Mayor in 1961. His platform stressed the need for community self-sufficiency, and his ability to attain it. However, his 134-vote plurality — out of approximately 3000 votes cast — probably was earned largely by a promise aimed at the twenty-four church congregations in town. Lee pledged to end a pressing social evil: Sunday morning street parades held by Kinloch's more exuberant civic organizations.

Since taking office, Lee has had to face all of the problems, and more, that confronted his predecessors. Sunday sermons now can be held without accompaniment of outside fife and drum music, but Kinloch still lacks the resources to maintain adequate municipal services. Nevertheless, by combining personal stamina, an instinct for public relations, and some imaginative fiscal tactics, the Mayor has managed to keep the city government operating. Above all, by aggressively pursuing funds made available through the Federal Government's war-on-poverty, Lee has brought about some basic improvements in Kinloch's frustrating condition.





*A federal grant enables Kinloch teachers and school administrators to go back to school. All of their expenses are paid out of the \$214,755 budget. Discussing the University of Missouri-Kinloch School Project are (l. to r.) Dr. A. C. Shropshire, Kinloch superintendent of schools; Dr. Adolph Unruh, of the University of Missouri at St. Louis, and Norman R. Seay, Community Coordinator for Kinloch for the Human Development Corporation.*

### *The Mayor's Routine*

The starting time of Lee's day is a matter of opinion. At midnight he begins his bread and butter job as a spray painter at nearby McDonnell Aircraft Corporation. Eight hours later he assumes his \$50-a-month position as Mayor of Kinloch. Since the time demands on a Mayor are open-ended, and often involve evening duties, Lee's workday often approaches twenty-four hours. His only routine pause comes when he smokes his ration of one cigarette a day. He catches sleep when he can. On no fixed schedule, but when time permits, Lee goes home to "toss around a little," and at midnight reports back to McDonnell.

Last Summer, Lee started each day as Mayor by assuming the role of milkman. To qualify for funds offered by some of Federal anti-poverty projects, Kinloch must contribute ten per cent toward the total expenditure. The city is so lacking in financial resources that it cannot make the contribution in cash; instead Kinloch provides various services and is credited with dollar equivalents. Each morning shortly after eight Lee picked up two crates of milk cartons at the Kinloch High School and, in the course of the next hour, distributed them to the city's Head Start centers. Kinloch was credited with \$50 a week for this service and Lee jokingly refers to himself as the "country's highest paid milkman."

Head Start is one of a myriad of Federal projects now functioning in Kinloch, and Lee does whatever he

can to ensure their effectiveness. On his milk rounds he carried a supply of hardware, and stopped to repair toys shaken apart by overenthusiastic youngsters. If on-the-stop maintenance was impossible, Lee carried the item home to his workshop and repaired it in his sparse free time. When Head Start supplies were received at Kinloch's post office, the Mayor personally picked them up in his 1958 Chevrolet and delivered them to the centers. Time permitting, he accompanied classes on field trips, interceded for the teachers with higher authority, and checked the quality of the hot lunches delivered by an outside caterer.

Another Kinloch resident now makes Head Start's milk deliveries, allowing Lee to eat a quick breakfast at home before greeting his staff at City Hall at nine. Actually, morning greetings take little time because the staff, in Kinloch, consists only of a City Clerk, a Collector of Taxes, a police matron who doubles as telephone operator, and the Chief of Police. In contrast to Mayors of most other cities, Lee need not worry about efficiency of his secretary. He has none.

City business is conducted in what once was Kinloch's leading funeral home, a building that probably could make any list of the America's ten most inadequate city halls. Nevertheless, it is an improvement over Kinloch's first seat of government, evacuated in 1961 because rain water from an endless series of leaks

threatened to wash city officials, records, and all into the street.

The Mayor's minuscule office is at the end of a narrow corridor. The walls once were painted green but a good deal of peeling has taken place. Seated at a second-hand desk so small that he has difficulty fitting his legs underneath, Lee can gaze out his only window onto the uninspiring sight of an unpainted shanty next door. Along one office wall are two ancient wooden filing cabinets, also lacking paint. On another leans a black metal bookcase containing two telephone books and a four-year-old University of Missouri Extension publication entitled "Financing Missouri's Business." The starkness of the setting is illuminated by a bare fluorescent lamp attached to the ceiling.

A series of Kinloch citizens, on an infinitely varied set of errands, file into the Mayor's chambers. Lee may act one instant as a marriage counselor, trying to settle a family argument, and the next as a job broker, attempting to place one of the town's chronically unemployed with an anti-poverty training project. No receptionist screens his callers and there are no eager assistants to whom he can refer their problems. Between visitors Lee answers his phone, opens the mail, and attends the city problems that most urgently require his attention.

### *Lee, The Great Society, And Private Investment*

The mayors of some communities have resented the coming of Great Society programs, viewing the instigation of war-on-poverty activities as conflicting with their own interests. Clarence Lee of Kinloch welcomes all Federal assistance projects with open arms, not only for the desperately needed financial relief they provide, but for the personnel that accompany them. With the almost \$4 million in Federal funds invested in Kinloch so far have come well-dressed and articulate people, most of them Negro, to provide professional services on a level heretofore unknown in the city. The Human Development Corporation, the local St. Louis agency responsible for administering Office of Economic Opportunity Projects, has designated Kinloch a hard-core poverty area and has established a permanent neighborhood office. The facility is manned by a Community Coordinator and a growing staff of nearly two dozen. Specialists such as business consultants,

family service counselors, health advisors, legal aid personnel, and home economists are initiating programs that the City of Kinloch could not dream of undertaking with its own funds. The immediate goal of the Center's staff members is to inform the citizenry of various federally financed opportunities for self and community improvement. They encounter occasional resistance from Kinlochians who resent interference from outsiders, albeit Negro, but they get only encouragement from Lee. In his eyes, the center does not compete with City Hall; it is providing basic services the city should offer but cannot.

Lee's outstanding achievement in six years as Mayor was the result of his active role in seeking Federal help. Beyond the obvious aesthetic liabilities that accompany lack of sewers, Kinloch's primitive sanitation system has depressed the value of property and prevented the investment of outside capital in the community. Estimates for sewer construction in Kinloch ran as high as one million dollars, infinitely exceeding the city's capacity to tax or borrow. With the co-operation of executives of St. Louis' Metropolitan Sewer District, Lee aroused the interest of Missouri's two Senators and the St. Louis area members of the House of Representatives, including those whose districts did not encompass Kinloch. Called to testify before the Senate Public Works Committee in March of 1964, Lee appeared armed with an up-to-date battery of Kinloch facts and figures which had been collected by the town's citizens on a volunteer basis. Documenting his case with these candid and distressing "self-surveys," Lee convinced the Committee members of Kinloch's need for immediate assistance.

The result was the "Kinloch Amendment" to the Federal Housing Act of 1965. The amendment provided for a 90 per cent Federal grant for sewer construction in cities of less than 100,000 population, located in metropolitan areas, and suffering unemployment rates 100 per cent above the national average. Up to now, Kinloch is the only city to qualify. In February of 1966, Kinloch property owners in the sewerless sections of town approved a \$100,000 bond issue to acquire the means for their ten per cent contribution. The favorable vote was 1,112 to 12.

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To take advantage of what Mayor Lee calls a "chance of a lifetime," Kinlochians virtually exhausted their city's bonding capacity. Therefore, revenue to meet Kinloch's remaining needs must be drawn from other sources. Hopefully, some of the money will come through private enterprise. Lee currently is negotiating with a nationally known garment concern, attempting to bring a 300-job manufacturing plant to the city. In a community devoid of local industry, and with the traditionally restricted employment opportunities for Negroes in St. Louis and St. Louis County, the garment factory would be a major breakthrough in Kinloch's battle for an adequate economic base. Then, with the prospective factory payroll as a lure, Lee hopes to develop a locally operated, if not locally owned, retail shopping complex.

Some outside capital already has come to Kinloch. Four subdivisions of modern single-family homes, selling from \$9000 to \$30,000, are in the final stages of construction. The 115 new units will not solve Kinloch's housing problems, but they represent a start. The developers are having no difficulty selling their houses, most of them to Kinlochians seeking better living quarters. The sale of these new homes has been so brisk that there now are definite plans to privately construct another hundred or so, as well as a more tentative proposal to build a set of 200 garden-type apartments.

### *Education In Kinloch*

Some of Kinloch's ills, however, are not likely to be alleviated by private investment. The school system is a case in point. Various observers have termed Kinloch's schools the worst in St. Louis County. There are twenty-five school districts in the County, most of them enrolling pupils from more than one municipality. No one has come forward to consolidate their schools with Kinloch's, and the city must go it alone. *One result is the highest school tax rate in the County (\$4.23 per \$100 of assessed valuation) and the lowest per pupil expenditure (\$296.11 annually).* Other consequences, predictably, are ramshackle and jammed facilities for the town's 1,500 pupils, totally inadequate school libraries, underpaid teachers generally offering inferior instruction, and a complete lack of specialists such as guidance counselors and remedial reading personnel. In past years, the Kinloch schools have



*As incomes rise, more families can afford these inexpensive but adequate homes.*

had to ration such items as chalk, only to find some of the scarce sticks disappearing into the stomachs of hungry students.

When Clarence Lee assumed office in 1961, Kinloch's schools had reached their nadir. The superintendent, subsequently dismissed after eighteen years in that post, was under a St. Louis County grand jury investigation for misappropriating the district's meager funds. The city's educational program was so deficient that the State refused to continue its accreditation. The quality of Kinloch's schools literally had fallen below the bottom of the rating scale.

It would be unfair to give Lee total credit for the changes that have taken place in the Kinloch school system since 1961. The town's elected six-member school board is an autonomous body with no direct ties to City Hall. However, it is a fact that the schools have begun to move forward under the Lee administration. A \$155,000 bond issue in 1963 financed construction of a fourth school building, a nine-room junior high named after John F. Kennedy. Moreover, the city made a giant stride in education by replacing the former superintendent with an experienced professional administrator, Dr. Arthur Shropshire, formerly Director of the Education Division at Langston University in Oklahoma.

Of course, Shropshire's initial programs, prescribing such essentials as kindergarten, the services of public health nurses to conduct routine health examination, and "in-service" projects to upgrade teachers' competence, all require funds which Kinloch cannot provide. The city's only recourse has been to request financial help from the Federal Government. Thus far, approximately \$500,000 has been granted to Kinloch for improvements in its schools.

### *Opposition To Lee's Tactics*

Despite obvious progress in Kin-

*FOCUS/Midwest*

loch, and at least the long-range prospect of economic self-sufficiency, Mayor Lee is not without his detractors. The most vigorous anti-Lee voice in Kinloch belongs to William Petty, a 39-year-old brick contractor who occupies the second ranking elective office in town, president of the ten-man Board of Aldermen. Running against Lee in the 1965 mayoralty election, Petty was soundly defeated by a two-to-one margin. However, he easily maintains an aldermanic seat in his home ward and, hence, remains a potent voice of opposition. A friendly bear of a man, Petty matches Lee in personal determination but, until recently, has devoted most of his attention to his own business enterprise. Today, Petty has one of the highest incomes in Kinloch and is personally constructing what certainly will be the town's finest residence, a ranch-style home that would do credit to the poshest white suburban neighborhood.

Although Lee and Petty have equivalent academic backgrounds — their two years of college place both at the top of Kinloch's educational elite — Petty is inclined to speak as a middle-class critic of an administration he sees employing lower-class political tactics. Preferring not to rely on the town's only newspaper, a bi-weekly which seems to criticize both the Mayor and his opponent with equal fervor, Petty turns out a steady stream of scathing, but well-reasoned, newsletters to publicize his position.

An examination of some of Petty's political ammunition is revealing. Most of his criticisms of Lee are easily substantiated and, in another community, one acclimated to the conduct of government as might be prescribed in a civics text, the Mayor likely would find himself confronted by an outraged electorate. In Kinloch, Lee can roll with the punch.

Alderman Petty charges that Kinloch operates without an annual budget, in violation of Missouri law and contrary to any reasonable notion of proper city management. In fact, Petty's basic allegation is correct. Kinloch has not adopted a new budget since 1964. An independent audit of the city's records for that fiscal year, ordered by Petty from his position as Alderman, revealed numerous shortcomings in bookkeeping. The auditors found that Kinloch did not maintain a general ledger, thus precluding an accurate statement of the town's assets and liabilities. Receipt and dis-

bursement journals contained incorrectly added columns, and did not cross balance. Records of many city transactions were missing entirely. However, the auditors found no actual cash shortages. Instead, they discovered an informal and virtually useless system of financial control.

Careful examination of the auditor's report confirms what most Kinlochians have known for years; the city's business is conducted on an *ad hoc* basis. Despite Petty's cries of outrage, this knowledge fails to excite Kinloch's voters, because it is generally agreed that any attempt to adhere to a systematic division of the town's inadequate income would result in overall devastation. Kinloch's property tax is within a nickel of Missouri's legal limit of 75 cents per \$100 valuation, yet the municipality takes in only about \$100,000 a year in revenue. Therefore, the Mayor prefers to rob Peter to pay Paul, with Paul being the areas in which spending appears to be most critically needed and Peter in those programs lower in priority.

While such items as badly needed road repairs await additional revenue, Lee concentrates city funds on more basic endeavors. Kinloch recently spent \$33,000 on a new fully-equipped fire engine, replacing a 1941 museum piece. The modern pumper, and approximately forty new fire hydrants installed at a cost of \$49 a piece, give the city adequate fire coverage for the first time. Street lights, costing \$35 each, have been installed at nearly every corner, but local residents must organize their own "light-clubs" to obtain illumination in the middle of a block. Purchase of a second-hand truck, coupled with Federal funds to pay chronically unemployed men for work on "city beautification projects," is facilitating clearance of two pieces of city-owned property as park sites. Meanwhile, Lee prods representatives of the War-on-Poverty, pointing out the fine print in new legislation that might offer Kinloch additional financial relief.

### *Kinloch's Police*

A substantial portion of Kinloch's expenditures goes toward police protection, and herein lies the bell-weather in Alderman Petty's stock of criticisms. The days of volunteer foot patrolmen are over, but Petty and most other Kinlochians consider the police force woefully deficient. Petty claims that crime is rampant in the city, and that police laxity allows it

to flourish. On the other hand, Kinloch reported only seventeen crimes to the County records center in 1965, and listed all seventeen as solved.

Petty probably is closer to the truth than is the official record but, again, the problem seems to be largely financial, and one of allocating priorities. The Kinloch force consists of one full-time officer per eight hour shift, with assorted others, including the Mayor, available for part-time duty. The department's equipment is reasonably modern, but two-way radio communication loses its effectiveness when the town's lone on-duty policeman is out of his car. When a backlog of calls develops, Kinlochians sometimes must wait hours until a policeman is available. Then, too, Kinloch has not yet been able to afford cells for the temporary hold-over of prisoners. When a Kinloch officer makes an arrest he often must decide whether to release the offender pending trial, or leave the town entirely without protection while he makes the twenty-mile round trip to the County jail.

Shorthandedness, however, is only one of Kinloch's police problems. Members of the force lack any training except that obtained by practical experience. There are endless possibilities for malfeasance in a situation where police are underpaid and untrained. Indeed, it is difficult to find a Kinlochian who holds the city police in high esteem. A few of Lee's opponents have accused him of encouraging a corrupt department, in order to blackmail votes, if not money, in return for police immunity.

Alderman Petty has proposed the final solution to the police dilemma: abolish the Kinloch force and contract with the County for police protection. St. Louis County Police have jurisdiction over unincorporated areas and, for a fee based on cost of operation, will assume responsibility for patrolling those county municipalities which prefer not to operate their own departments. In June of 1966 Petty, again from his position on the Aldermanic Board, asked the County Police to estimate a yearly fee if the city decided to abolish its own force. A cost-finding study was designed, involving two weeks of experimental patrolling by County cars in Kinloch. Mayor Lee, citing Kinloch's pre-incorporation experiences with the County Police, and expressing fear of the psychological effect

*(Continued on Page 34)*



## **Student Expression Censored At Missouri University**

Tom Wellman

COLUMBIA, Missouri will forever be a football town on fall weekends. Since the University of Missouri Tigers started to play inter-collegiate football, each fall the sport monopolizes the attention of most of the community that encircles the University.

As old grads return to Mizzou and cross the campus through the cool sunshine, the symbols of Missouri tradition remain. On Francis Quadrangle, which is the geographical center of campus, six naked columns, remnants of the original administration building that was destroyed by fire in the 1880's, hold up the sky.

Across from the columns stands Jesse Hall, a four-story gargantuan building that towers over the Quadrangle. From one of its second floor windows, President John C. Weaver can gaze down on the waves of students and alumni drifting towards the 50,000-seat football stadium.

President Weaver can also look out across the Quad and see the School of Journalism. Founded in 1908, the School has always had the reputation of being one of the best in the country. Behind the front of the building is a new annex, housing the *Columbia Missourian*, a unique "teaching newspaper" that circulates throughout Columbia. Students who walk through the arch that connects the two halves of the journalism complex pass under an inscription that reads, "Schoolmaster of the People."

Across campus there are signs of physical change. New dormitories are being built and classroom complexes are rising out of the Boone County soil.

But returning alumni seldom see where the real changes at Missouri are taking place. If the football visitor returned to the campus during the week and stopped for coffee at Ralph's Agora House (a tiny restaurant

## **Missouri's Timid State Universities**

### **Near Tyranny at Lincoln University**

Peter J. Kellogg

Once excellent school has lost much of its quality, is losing its reputation, and is unprepared to face a coming reevaluation of its accreditation. Lincoln University has a number of serious problems that cripple many of her students and could eventually destroy the school as an independent university. Yet no systematic effort to assess and improve the situation is being made.

Lincoln can recover. It is our belief that a rational presentation of the difficulties can move those with power and authority to investigate the situation for themselves. The following criticisms are made out of great affection and respect for Lincoln University, for her students, and for many members of her staff. The purpose is not to destroy the reputation of a school with a long and noble history, but rather to encourage action which will make that proud reputation more fully correspond to reality.

The problems facing Lincoln University are most noticeable in terms of the students: poor performance, disaffection, and lack of administration confidence in students. The faculty is suffering from the administration's hold on free expression, the declining quality of faculty, and their inability to improve the school from within. Administration problems show up in the lack of leadership, lack of

future planning, inefficient use of resources, the lack of meaningful integration, and the failure to obtain federal funds. A closer look at these problem areas will make clear the need for bold, creative leadership and vigorous action.

### *Poor Performance Of Graduates*

A large portion of those who graduate from Lincoln are so poorly prepared that they do not have sufficient literary skills to function successfully at a responsible job. A faculty committee recently made a careful study of Lincoln graduates who attended army branch camp after going through the R.O.T.C. program. The performance of Lincoln students in branch camp fell far below that of graduates of other Missouri schools. Camp instructors attributed this embarrassing performance to deficiencies in communications skills. That is, Lincoln University graduates often are not able to read and write well enough to be good lieutenants in the U.S. Army. They are illiterate by army standards. What will happen to these "illiterate" graduates? Many will become licensed teachers.

The dismal performance of these graduates is not hard to explain. Their high schools did not teach them to read and write well, and neither did Lincoln.

specializing in enchiladas and tacos), he'd realize that the talk was about change at the University. The visitor, remembering his college days may be somewhat shocked by the discussion.

After a slow start, the climate of thought at Missouri has matured at an alarming rate over the past few years. Two years ago, a pocket-size "free speech movement" momentarily stirred students and faculty to debate, discussion and direct action. At about the same time, Claude Lightfoot, a member of the Communist Party, was permitted to speak on campus. This was a giant stride towards academic freedom.

Last year, two political opposites, Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) and Young Americans for Freedom (Y.A.F.), engaged in two well-attended public discussions on Viet Nam. They represent new and exciting voices at Missouri.

When another football autumn

dawned on central Missouri last September, more changes were in the wind. Local 45, a Public Service Employees Union, was actively seeking membership in response to what the union charged were economic and social injustices created by the University. The University replied that it was acting to provide "just and rewarding working conditions."

Then, on September 14 to the surprise, of everyone Local 45 struck the University. The next day, Circuit Court Judge John Cave issued a restraining order to end the strike, and the Board of Curators formed a five-man committee to "investigate" the causes of the disturbance. (Meanwhile, the Board of Curators approved grievance procedures and a seniority policy for its non-academic employees on its four campuses.)

Now unionization was a public issue, and it began to stimulate debate among both students and faculty

members. S.D.S., which had been concerned primarily with the war in Viet Nam, began drawing large numbers of people to its meetings to talk about labor unions and the question of who really controls the University. Campus politics began to have relevance to many students who had remained aloof from past battles.

### *The Free Press Banned*

A light rain was falling on the morning of October 18 when I strapped a change belt around my waist, picked up a packet of 50 copies of the *Columbia Free Press*, and began selling them near the Memorial Student Union. As a co-editor of the *Free Press*, my concern at that moment was not freedom of the press, but selling enough copies to stay in business.

The *Free Press* was created by Mrs. Trisha Ware, now on the copy desk of the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

Half the entering freshmen read at or below the tenth grade level and most freshmen are so poorly trained in English they are assigned to non-credit remedial courses. Many of Lincoln's students could be considered "culturally deprived." One third of the students come from families economically impoverished, according to federal standards. (Of course the ability of students varies greatly. Some probably should not be seeking a college degree, but others go on to earn doctorates at leading universities.)

It would seem obvious that students with these backgrounds need special remedial training if they are to profit from a college education. Lincoln, unfortunately, does not meet this need. There are a few one-semester remedial sections, as the ones in English, but they are known to be almost totally ineffective. *Students are still allowed to enroll in college courses for which they are not prepared.* Inevitably both students and teachers become frustrated when students can not read their assignments with understanding or communicate their ideas. Often students take five, six, or more years to complete four years of work because they fail so many courses. Even then they may graduate poorly prepared.

Despite the facts that existing remedial sections are ineffective, that

students often have insufficient preparation for college level courses, and that many graduates lack the most basic, essential communications skills — despite all this, funds to develop new and more adequate programs have not been vigorously sought.

### *Student Disaffection*

College students are normally expected to graduate in four years. At Lincoln about 12 per cent of a given freshman class can be expected to graduate after four years. What happens to the other 88 per cent? Many take longer to graduate; many leave the school and go elsewhere. Of these transfer students some are local students who use Lincoln as a junior college and plan to stay only one or two years. But local students compose only about half the student body, so their transfers do not explain why only one eighth of an entering freshman class graduates in four years. One obvious explanation seems to be that students do not feel Lincoln is meeting their needs. They leave because they are dissatisfied. They are too cowed to express their discontent while on campus, but they can not be stopped from voting with their feet.

### *Student Atmosphere Of Fear*

Professor Kenneth Clark of New York has been deeply involved in studying education, particularly the

problems of "culturally deprived" students. His work has influenced the Supreme Court. Dr. Clark's main prescription for improving the education of the "culturally deprived" is that teachers and staff have confidence in the students. He cites many examples, such as Samuel Shepard's work in St. Louis, in which great progress in student performance was achieved just by replacing an atmosphere of tension and failure with one of trust and expectation.

Lincoln University has a philosophy just the reverse of the one advocated by Dr. Clark. Lincoln's policy of student morale is to create an atmosphere of fear in which students will be afraid to do anything wrong, to cause trouble. Bureaucrats view students as nuisances, dangerous ones at that, who must be kept under tight rein. This control is effected by constant, minute supervision and by threats.

Rules governing student conduct show the lack of trust. There are detailed regulations of dress and conduct, at least for those who live on campus. Women have to get permission to wear slacks on cold days. In order to hold a meeting a student group must fill out, in triplicate, a slip requiring four different signatures, including that of a dean who can, and does, forbid meetings he

Mrs. Ware saw the *Free Press* as a forum that could speak out independently, without having to answer to private groups or to the University.

With generous financial help from the faculty, the *Free Press* published its first issue in April, 1966. Since then the *Free Press* has discussed a wide range of issues: Local 45, professors, the war in Viet Nam, dormitory rights, and Rep. Richard Ichord's position on H.U.A.C.

On that October morning, about six hawkers were selling the *Free Press*. At 11, I was selling papers in front of the Memorial Student Union, when I saw two police cars stop in front of the University Library where Pico Elgin, a University student, was selling papers.

I walked over, and two City police officers asked me if the *Free Press* had a permit to sell on City property. I replied that we did not. The officers

then told us to leave City property. We complied.

After we had retreated to the Student Union, we discovered that another vendor, Kent Striker, had been selling papers on University property. A University Kampus Kop bought a copy of the paper from him, and later three more Kampus Kops told him to get off University property. He complied.

We had sold only 500 of 3,000 issues. We had to sell more or future publication would be impossible. We also realized that important constitutional questions had been raised which demanded answers from the highest University and City authorities.

Legally, the *Free Press* was hamstrung. Kent Leach, in charge of City licensing, told us that we could not sell on city property unless we obtained a not-for-profit business license. (We had not obtained such

a license, but we were about to file with the Internal Revenue Service to gain certification as a non-profit group.) George Nicholaus, then city councillor and now a University employee, emphasized that Section 14.060 of the City statutes blocks the sale of all items, including periodicals, on public property.

The next day we went back on the streets and sought donations for the *Free Press*. This was legal and met some of the costs, but it did not answer questions about University policy.

### Unanswered Questions

Was the *Free Press* in effect censored? If so, why? On the front page of the October issue, the *Free Press* ran an article entitled "Local 45: Coming Storm?" It was written by Gordon Burnside, a union member. The article supported the right of university employees to bargain col-

does not like. And then the meeting cannot be held unless a faculty member is present. Not even the "student government" can meet without a faculty member in the room. Pressures were exerted some years ago to drive the student NAACP chapter off campus and now Lincoln University, a school with a Negro heritage and a student body about half Negro, does not have a single civil rights organization on campus — a very appropriate symbol of the way student expression is stifled.

More than over-regulation is used to destroy students' sense of independence and confidence. Students are insulted, threatened, and coerced into timid submissiveness. One administration spokesman told an open meeting, "Lincoln students don't have any culture and they never will." The faculty seldom hears administrators making such derogatory remarks, but students hear them all too often.

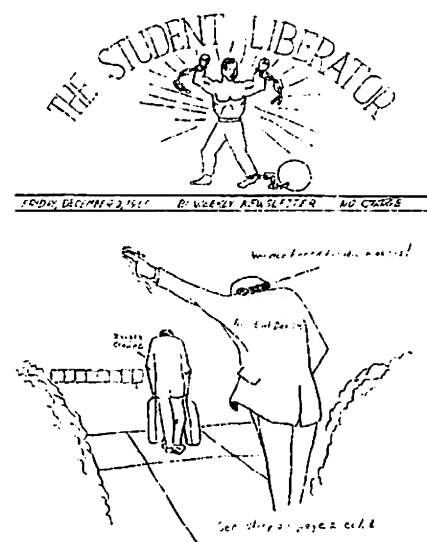
There are still other ways of destroying student morale. A parent can be called and asked to silence students who express radical ideas in dormitory bull sessions. A student who complained of dormitory conditions was threatened with expulsion. Recently a student was fired from a campus job for wearing a sign advertising an off-campus talk by a civil rights worker. (Editor's Note:

See editorial "Democracy at Lincoln University.")

The University recognizes that many of its students have handicaps, but it deals with them in a way that aggravates rather than alleviates the problems. Ignoring acute problems of poor academic background, administrators openly admit they believe Lincoln's students are "unstable" and cannot be treated like students of "normal" universities. Even if this philosophy did not result in oppressive regulation, which it does, its very existence would communicate itself to the students, undermining their self-confidence.

### Failure To Obtain Federal Funds

In view of the high percentage of her students who come from backgrounds of poverty, Lincoln would seem ideally suited for grants made possible under recent federal legislation. Yet little has been obtained. There is an important work-study and grant program, but no funds have been gotten to improve the educational process itself. Thus many of the work-study students, as well as others, will not receive the training they need to overcome their deficiencies in reading and writing. They too will graduate unable to qualify as second lieutenants. One man was hired to work on applications for



The *Student Liberator* is surreptitiously published by students at Lincoln University.

federal aid, but he got so little support from the administration that he quit in disgust. He has not been replaced.

Federal funds for buildings are also available. There has been much building at Lincoln in recent years, which helps compensate for years of neglect when money apparently was not to be had. This building program, however, is hardly adequate for present needs and does not allow for future growth. Nor does it compare favorably with building pro-

lectively in order to seek a decent wage. This was a radical suggestion for the University of Missouri. Aside from the *Free Press*, the union was supported by the AFL-CIO, the Missouri Student Association, and the American Association of University Professors. Were the authorities fearful that the article might swing more public opinion toward the union?

When the Kampus Kops filed the informal complaint against the *Free Press* that resulted in the City's action, did the University respond only to the presence of an alien, non-University sponsored publication on campus property, or did it respond specifically to the pro-union article? Someday, perhaps, that question can be answered.

The University is a body responsive to demands of the state legislature as well as to the demands of students and faculty. Often it reacts defensively. A classic example is the *Colum-*

*bia Missourian*, a daily owned and operated by an independent corporation allegedly without allegiance to the University.

On October 18, I presented the essential facts to the *Columbia Missourian*. Nothing appeared.

A day later, I contacted the commercial *Columbia Tribune*. It published a front page story on the action which the City and University had taken.

Both papers mentioned the controversy on October 20 in the context of another article, but it was not until Friday that a *Missourian* reporter contacted me, wire copy in hand (an AP release had been filed through the *Tribune* office), and interviewed me for a story.

Following the frenetic week of the 18th, both papers covered all of the news events that developed. Late in November, the *Tribune* editorialized twice about the unconstitutionality of



**in Chicago**

the city ordinance, and was instrumental in getting the city council to consider amending the ordinance. The *Missourian* did not editorialize.

grams at some other Missouri schools. Existing dormitories are full, so that even if more students could be attracted they could not enroll because they would have no place to live. (Negro students cannot find private housing outside the small Negro community since the local white community will not rent to Negroes, causing Lincoln a loss of faculty as well as students. A faculty resolution protesting such discrimination was suppressed by the administration and local efforts to achieve fair housing have been seriously handicapped by the administration's attitude of indifference.)

### *Stifling Of Faculty*

The atmosphere at Lincoln is oppressive. Faculty morale has been broken. There is little freedom of expression on vital issues. The results injure the University in at least four ways. First, faculty members cannot use their professional training to offer constructive suggestions for improvement of the school since this would be considered meddling or insubordination. People who are not allowed to give their ideas are not likely to give their energies, either, and the faculty, feeling powerless and unheeded, does not contribute nearly as much as it could to the development of Lincoln. Men who are professionals, trained in the areas where

Lincoln has its greatest problems, are unable to make effective use of their knowledge or desire to serve. Second, this insult to their dignity and lack of proper respect from the administration inevitably lowers faculty morale, even in the classroom. Third, young faculty members with good training and motivation will not tolerate such an atmosphere. The only thing they can do is go to other schools.

Finally, the great ideal of a university, particularly in a democracy, is the ideal of free inquiry. At Lincoln there is no censorship of research, only of what is said openly on campus. Faculty are criticized, even threatened, for writing letters to the school paper, for showing "unapproved" movies, for reading poetry "too modern" in class, or for encouraging students to ask questions about University or public policy. Almost all efforts to encourage a spirit of inquiry on campus have been discouraged or prevented.

There are no overt violations of well-known A.A.U.P. rules on academic freedom. Instead, the effect is achieved by subtle pressures which make formal complaint almost impossible. Who can prove, for instance, that, when faculty salaries generally were rising, professor A received no raise because he had been too outspoken? How could he or anyone else

answer the inevitable defense that he was denied the raise only because of "ineffective" teaching? Yet most members of the faculty could name more than one individual who was so punished. Other faculty members have resigned from activity in local civil rights work because of hints that their jobs or salary increases were in danger. Would any dare testify to such "hints" publicly?

Many men, quite naturally, are anxious for advancement which, in a university, comes by promotion to higher rank or position. It is taken for granted by the Lincoln faculty that silence on major issues is the only way to such advancement. Three different department chairmen urged me to speak out on some of the University's problems because I am young and mobile enough to get another job without serious loss to my career.

### *Ineffective Self-Study*

Lincoln is about to undergo examination by the North Central Association accrediting team. As part of this examination the University is required to undertake a thorough, frank self-study. The faculty has spent over a year at the task. The result of the year's work is a new organizational chart. That is all.

The faculty performed its self-study assignment in the manner which



Controversial University issues never find a strong editorial echo at the *Missourian*. This is in sharp Contrast to Walter Williams', "Journalist's Credo of Ethics," which is prominently displayed on a bronze plaque inside the front door of the School.

The School of Journalism lumbers along, satisfying the demands of employers by turning out more and more graduates every year. While it never "rocks any boat," its position of prominence permits a certain arrogance that forces faculty, administrators, and students to follow isolated and restricted goals.

### *Progress At Columbia*

Expression of solidarity for the *Free Press* came from many sources. The A.A.U.P. drafted a resolution deploring "... the hindrance placed in the way of sale of the *Columbia Free Press*." It was presented by Dr. Paul L. Fisher, di-

rector of the Freedom of Information Center. The Y.A.F., the S.D.S., the M.S.A., and the University chapter of Sigma Delta Chi endorsed the rights of the *Free Press*. At an S.D.X. convention in Pittsburgh, a committee was appointed to investigate the issue.

Editorially, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Des Moines Register-Tribune* came out in support of the *Free Press's* right to sell.

Encouraged by these statements, the editors of the *Free Press* asked the City of Columbia to amend section 14.060. Don Allard, city manager, followed up by submitting to the City Council an amendment to permit the sale of newspapers on city property. The amendment was approved December 12.

The *Free Press* also sought campus circulation rights from the University. Lee Valentine, associate editor, submitted a list of 14 campus locations

which were thought to be appropriate selling spots that would not interfere with traffic.

Dean of Extra-Divisional Activities, Dr. Robert Callis, gave permission to sell the paper at only one campus location.

He stated that the University "has not in the past nor does it now have any desire to suppress freedom of the press." But, "we feel that the interest of the total complex of University functions is best served by this limitation."

This decision was appealed to University Chancellor John Schwada, and President Weaver. Their response was to form a committee to reappraise their position toward campus sales. Many members of the *Free Press* staff, reflecting a segment of student thought that would have been impossible ten years ago at Missouri, wished to confront the University by selling at several University locations.

it knew that the administration expected. It was a performance of discreet silence, a kind of charade which may deceive the visiting accreditation team but which deceives neither students nor the faculty members themselves.

### *Declining Quality Of Faculty*

Lincoln can be proud of a number of excellent teachers on her staff. But their number is not growing; it is shrinking. Some of the outstanding professors are approaching retirement age and are not being replaced by teachers as effective. Often younger instructors use Lincoln as a way-station while they work on their degrees and will move on to other schools when their degrees are completed. Thus there is not a full cadre of qualified teachers ready to replace the senior faculty near retirement.

A dramatic way of showing the failure to recruit a superior faculty is to cite areas in which Lincoln has no staff holding the doctorate. *Lincoln has no Ph.D.'s in English, Mathematics, Physics, Psychology, or Economics, all complex fields where advanced training is vital.*

This shortage of faculty is not inevitable. It is aggravated by a number of unfortunate policies. Administrators refuse to hire anyone with a

commitment to civil rights. Thus Lincoln is unable to take advantage of what might be an effective recruiting tool — its almost unique position as a racially balanced university — since those to whom it would appeal are excluded as unstable "idealists." In addition, an old rule prohibits employing husband and wife; some qualified people are lost this way.

Those who know Lincoln and are familiar with the unsurpassed teaching ability of some of the faculty may be surprised to see the quality of the faculty questioned. The argument is not that there are no excellent teachers but that they are relatively fewer than they used to be.

### *Bad Use Of Resources*

One reason Lincoln students so often receive inadequate training in basic skills is that remedial and introductory courses are absurdly overcrowded. English composition classes of 40 or history or psychology classes of 70 have not been uncommon. Obviously a student's individual problems can be given no attention in classes of such size. Furthermore, faculty members frequently teach over 200 different students. Lincoln faculty are usually expected to teach 15 hours a week. A more acceptable load for university professors would be nine or at most 12 hours with fewer than 100 students. If Lincoln's

students do have poor backgrounds, such huge, impersonal classes would seem to be the worst possible way of dealing with them. The advantages of a small school where there could be close faculty-student contact are thus lost.

It would be easy to say that the problem is too little money from the state legislature, which is notoriously stingy with higher education. Undoubtedly Lincoln needs more money. However, Lincoln's overall student-teacher ratio is maintained at about 20 to 1. How is it, then, that many classes are double or triple the expected size of 20? The answer is that faculty resources are not effectively used. There are far too many tiny classes. One instructor in the fall of 1965 taught six students.

Historically, this condition is a hangover from the days when Lincoln was Missouri's "separate but equal" state university for Negroes and had to offer courses in every field for which there was a request, a situation which inevitably meant many small classes. The law school was closed because it was an unnecessary cost to the state. Why should not other professional departments, in which instruction is available 30 miles away at Columbia, also be closed if they cater only to a handful of students and their expense lowers the quality of the whole

This step, at least for the moment, has not been taken.

Today, the *Free Press* lives as an incorporated, not-for-profit journal. At 15c a copy, it sold over 2,000 copies in November — thanks to the University-created controversy. This paid for the January issue. The periodical is only one small element of a movement towards relevancy on the college campuses of midwestern America. The larger questions remain. When the *Free Press* controversy dies, will the campus population continue its movement into the modern academic community?

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school? No leadership at Lincoln has been willing to face this unpleasant decision.

### *Lack Of Meaningful Integration*

Many people say Lincoln is desegregated but not integrated. The facts that dormitories, clubs, even most athletic teams are almost all Negro testify dramatically to that conclusion. To see a Negro and a white student talking in the halls is rare enough to be noteworthy. The segregationist climate of Jefferson City, the commuting problems of white students, and the urban-rural cultural gap that tends to parallel racial lines, all reinforce the tendency to separation. But considering that Lincoln has been desegregated for over ten years the lack of meaningful integration is shocking.

Many studies have shown that a relatively brief, impersonal, isolated experience like sharing a classroom is not enough to break down deep prejudices. Since no one in authority will take the responsibility for promoting understanding, it isn't surprising that there is little integration. Again, an opportunity is missed for want of leadership.

### *Lack Of Leadership*

Over and over — in seeking federal

funds, in improving remedial programs, in stimulating growth, in recruiting faculty, in developing student responsibility, in utilizing resources well — one sees problems but no plan, no policy, no leadership. What policies do exist are often irrelevant or harmful. But no one questions them. No one defines the problems. No one proposes solutions.

A small illustration is Lincoln's observance of her centennial. Other schools take advantage of such anniversaries to advertise themselves, holding widely-publicized fund drives, convening significant symposia of scholars, inviting famous speakers whose presence will add luster to the institution. Aside from putting a new symbol on the postage meter, Lincoln did none of this. The goal seems to be to avoid trouble, the technique to avoid action. The result, of course, is stagnation.

Lincoln faces critically serious problems. It is difficult to convey how totally oblivious the official apparatus of the institution seems to be to these problems. Not one of them except the faculty report on student performance at army branch camp, (which was dismissed without substantive action) and the self-study report (admittedly superficial) has been discussed in faculty meetings, which are themselves becoming rare. No member of the administration has spoken publicly or to the faculty about them. No efforts to solve any of them have been announced.

Some individual faculty members have tried to suggest new programs. A dean sought federal funds, a department is studying its remedial program, and probably others are trying new ideas, but any new ideas come unsolicited from the faculty and are either rejected or given toleration rather than support. The faculty attitude generally is that it is useless to seek innovations which would only be squelched. Those who do the squelching formulate no alternatives.

Though these are serious criticisms being made here, no blanket condemnation of the university is intended or would be appropriate. Lincoln has some excellent teachers. In advanced courses where there is often less crowding they do outstanding work. In these courses students enjoy opportunities rarely available at larger schools. An honors program provides

special opportunities for unusually talented students. Indeed, a well-prepared and motivated student who picks his courses intelligently can obtain a very fine education at Lincoln. It is primarily with students who do not enjoy such advantages creating an atmosphere of challenge and stimulation and in planning that Lincoln falls short.

### *No Plan For The Future*

Missouri has a relatively new Commission on Higher Education which is studying the state system of higher education as a whole. What will be Lincoln's role in that system if changes are made? Will she, for example, seek to preserve her special heritage as a Negro school? Will Lincoln become a remedial school for the whole state, as some have suggested? Will Lincoln seek to maintain a quality four-year liberal arts program?

At present the answers to these questions are being formulated outside Lincoln. A Lincoln alumnus, Charles Young, recently published a probing article in *FOCUS Midwest*. "Will the Real Lincoln University Please Stand Up?" (Vol. V, No. 33). The above observations should support his argument that there is no long-range planning and help document his assertion, "The more basic deficiencies, however, go unchecked." Mr. Young places the responsibility for lack of planning with the Board of Curators. There is so little communication between whoever formulates policy and the faculty that it is hard to tell who has the significant authority — deans, president, curators, or the Governor who appoints curators. The point is that something needs to be done. Lincoln survived the great trauma of integration when the school might have been closed altogether. Leadership was effective then. Where is it now?

Peter J. Kellogg graduated cum laude from Davidson College, N.C. He is a Phi Beta Kappa and former instructor of history at Lincoln University. At present, he is a Ph.D. candidate at Northwestern University where he received his M.A.



# **A PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL FOOTNOTE ON THE ST. LOUIS GATEWAY ARCH**

RICHARD C. HACKMAN

**I**T's a wire! It's a band! It's a superarch! And it may be the most ego-centered monument in history, complete with its own legend of political conspiracy and boondoggling.

Mankind may honor in steel and concrete *one* of its members for unique exemplary acts, but should collective man build a monument to himself? In time, the 630-foot St. Louis Gateway Arch may come to symbolize man's compulsion for secular goals — and his fantastic egotism.

The thrill of witnessing the growth of this monolithic structure has dimmed the reservations of yesterday. It is not for us to detract from the grandeur of this building wonder, but it is our place to ask whether its symbolism truly embraces the essence of our lives. If not, what can St. Louis salvage? Can we not reinterpret this towering invention so that it may present man's longing to rise above the common plain?

The idea of the Arch was born 34 years ago. Bernard F. Dickmann, then Mayor of St. Louis, was crossing over the Mississippi with a group of friends, including Luther Ely Smith. Smith made an offhand comment that the St. Louis levee would be an excellent spot for a monument to the Louisiana Purchase and the settlement of the West. Immediately committed to the idea, Mayor Dickmann appointed Smith chairman of a Citizens' Memorial Committee.

St. Louis, as well as the national government, first had to be sold on the monument. The days of the Great Depression would not seem to be the time to promote a memorial,

but it was advocated as a project which might spark local recovery.

The right proclamations — *"Is there any spot where the romance of justice, prudence, and fortitude found better root than in this birthplace of the Mississippi Valley and the Far West?"* — had their desired effect. Congress appointed a national committee to study the memorial.

Members of the Mayor's Committee believed that the settlement of the West was a display of man's best qualities worthy of commemoration to the ages. But did the nation's expansion exemplify these virtues?

Though the saga of the advancing frontier is an indelible period in the nation's history, it is questionable fare for monument building.

The good inherent in man's taming of the West, and the manner in which he tamed it, has long been a subject for debate. In a time when colonial empires were the order of the day, it may have been inevitable that a nation advanced technological-ly would dominate a tribal people less highly endowed. Today, the age of colonization is held by many to be more an inglorious than a noble period, and the use of technological power to exploit those in a defenseless position is looked upon with disfavor. There were, of course, acts of selfless love and courage on the trails leading West, but the Westward Movement is not typified by such acts. Too numerous were the armed conflicts of opposing enterprising groups.

There were those who possessed a "reverence for life" in frontier days; regrettably the Gateway Arch does not commemorate these acts. The memorial honors the Louisiana Pur-

chase — a business transaction — and the settlement of the West — economic expansion. Few are the historians who believe that the Westward Movement was a benevolent act. The common act of courage to cross the plains was, in most cases, for personal gain.

It is unjust to impose upon St. Louis a symbolism representing the crassest aspects of our early national growth. Fortunately, it can be remedied. Just as we had a presidential commission on "national goals" some years ago, the Mayor of St. Louis could appoint a similar commission for the City of St. Louis. What are our long-range ideals for this metropolitan complex? Our hopes can be proclaimed at the foot of this monument and come to be identified with it.

**S**ALVAGING its future significance becomes even more important, if we remember the inglorious political history of the Arch. It must be told once more before it is forever buried in the coming avalanche of "Arch literature" when the memorial is formally dedicated: The bond election to finance construction of the Arch was a fraud.

The time was The Depression. The St. Louis downtown area was blighted. Jobs were scarce.

The \$7,500,000 bond issue promised to provide some jobs. Newspapers editorialized that it might trigger rebuilding of the blighted business area, and that every dollar contributed by St. Louisans would bring three dollars from the federal govern-

Page Thirty-one



ment. "St. Louisans would have a shrine outdistancing any memorial ever built, one which would bring visitors from all over the world."

The election was not left to chance. One week before the election Mayor Dickmann assembled his 669 precinct captains and explained: "We have 7,100 city employees, and I want the name of every man and woman among them who does not work for this bond issue. I'll have no slackers in this army. Every captain will be responsible for his precinct. We are going to count noses next Wednesday, the day after the election, and find out who is loyal and who is not. There may be some changes. This administration is through with pussy-footing and baby talk. If you're not loyal to the administration, we don't want you in it."

The Mayor spoke again on the subject to 4,200 city employees at the municipal auditorium: "No matter who may have recommended any city employee for appointment, if he is not loyal, he will be gotten rid of. Only those willing to pull in harness are wanted in this administration."

The bond issue passed and the margin of victory was decisive.

The marginal forces of dissent now rallied around Paul Osgood Peters, a St. Louis newspaper reporter. He lobbied in Washington and maintained that the monument was unwise and extravagant. A nationwide discussion ensued. The dissenters found unexpected support in the revelation that the election was a fraud.

In the nine wards in which the election was conducted lawfully, there was a split vote. In the nineteen wards in which the bonds passed by the required two-thirds majority, there was wholesale registration padding and the ballot boxes had been stuffed.

Circuit Attorney Franklin Miller impounded all election records, and Circuit Judge John W. Joynt ordered a grand jury investigation to succeed the newspaper study of the election. Fighting the investigation, five residents of the fifth ward, who publicly stated that they were dummy plaintiffs, filed a motion to prevent opening of the ballot boxes. They argued that the ballots should have been destroyed one year after the election. (The Election Board may destroy the ballots after one year, but the law makes an exception for an impending grand jury investigation.) Reversing

his order, Judge Joynt ruled that the ballot boxes remain closed. His successor, Judge Eugene L. Padburg, refused to assign the grand jury to investigate the election, and finally the jury was dismissed.

Another attempt by Circuit Attorney Miller to investigate the election was blocked by the Supreme Court of Missouri.

Immediately following the bond election victory, Mayor Dickmann had traveled to Washington to obtain federal aid. President Franklin Roosevelt referred the request to Attorney General Homer Cummings, and Cummings ruled against signing an order releasing national funds. The government could allocate money only with the consent of Congress.

But the Mayor was a determined man. National elections were to be held the following year in 1936 and Attorney General Cummings was to be national party chairman. Dickmann reportedly told Cummings that Missouri might be lost in the election and that he, Dickmann, was the first Mayor of his party in St. Louis in twenty-four years and might be the last one in a long time if the memorial project failed.

Cummings began to see the scenic importance of the memorial: he reversed his decision. President Roosevelt designated the St. Louis riverfront as a national park and the Department of Interior was authorized to take title to the land. Mayor Dickmann returned to St. Louis with 2,450,000 dollars from the Works Relief Fund.

Proponents expected an early completion, but days passed and there was little action. On March 29, 1937, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* declared:

The *Post* originally supported it (the memorial) as a contribution to economic recovery, but it is now quite the reverse. To spend thirty million or even nine million dollars on it now would aggravate rather than relieve economic conditions. There are other reasons that argue against it. It was widely advertised as a proposition to put 5,000 men to work — and work was to have been started in ten days. Eighteen months have elapsed and not a wheel has turned. If the project should now begin with nine million dollars, the money would go, not to create employment, but merely to acquire the site from present owners.

*The arch affirms the fact that Americans possess aesthetic as well as practical concerns.*

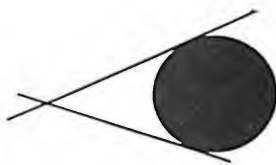
Finally, and of grave importance, is the fact that the 7,500,000 dollar bond issue, representing the city's share, was passed in an election reeking with fraud. Does St. Louis want to erect a memorial to one of the country's greatest and most beloved statesmen from funds tainted with election thievery? Would it not be a perversion to memorialize one of the greatest apostles of democracy with money obtained from an election in which the purity of the ballot was besmirched?

We propose that the project be abandoned.

In 1962, twenty-five years after its birth and after two wars had become history, work was begun on the monument.

It was a memorable day in 1965 when the massive legs of the arch were joined. It is good that the work has been consummated. The arch affirms the fact that Americans possess aesthetic as well as practical concerns, and we anticipate the time when citizens shall first ascend the monument. When that hour comes—because we believe that there exist greater acts and greater goals to commemorate—may the soaring grandeur of this structure embrace something more than a fraudulent election, the sad exploitation of a physically weaker people, and the honorable, though common, pursuit of economic gain.

*Richard C. Hackman is an English teacher in St. Louis County. He received his M.A. from the University of Missouri.*



## VOTING RECORDS

### Congress

#### Symbols:

S: Senate Bill  
HR: House of Representatives Bill  
R: Republican  
D: Democrat  
ND: Northern Democrat  
SD: Southern Democrat  
Res: Resolution  
J. Res: Joint Resolution  
Y: Affirmative Vote  
N: Negative Vote  
F: Paired or Announced For  
X: Paired or Announced Against  
Pres.: President

### U.S. HOUSE VOTES

(A) **HR13161: AID TO EDUCATION.** Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1966. Amendment to prohibit the Commissioner of Education from deferring action on school districts' applications for funds under the Act on the basis of noncompliance with the nondiscrimination requirements of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act unless, after a hearing, there was an express finding of noncompliance. Accepted 220-116: R 103-4; D 117-112 (ND 54-108; SD 63-4). 10-6-66. The Pres. did not take a position.

(B) **HR13161: AID TO EDUCATION:** Passage of the bill authorizing \$2.1 billion in fiscal 1967 and \$3.5 billion in fiscal 1968 for school-aid programs. Passed 237-97: R 47-59; D 190-38 (ND 159-2; SD 31-35). 10-6-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(C) **HR 12047: ARMED FORCES OBSTRUCTION.** Passage of the bill making it a federal crime to aid foreign powers or groups engaged in armed conflict with the United States or to obstruct military movements in times of armed conflict. Passed 275-64: R 105-10; D 170-54 (ND 94-54; SD 76-0). 10-13-65. The Pres. did not take a position.

(D) **HR51: INDIANA DUNES.** Passage of the bill creating the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Ind., an area of 8,721 acres along 13 miles of Lake Michigan shoreline. Passed 204-141: R 17-96; D 187-45 (ND 155-5; SD 32-40). 10-14-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(E) **S3708: DEMONSTRATION CITIES.** Passage of the bill. For description see "C" under House Votes. Passed 178-141: R 16-81; D 162-60 (ND 141-11; SD 21-49). 0-14-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(F) **S985: TRUTH-IN-PACKAGING.** Fair Packaging and Labeling Act. Adoption of the conference report on the bill authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the FTC to require that packages be labeled in clear, simple, and unqualified terms to encourage (but not require) voluntary industry development of standard weights and quantities for packages. Adopted 242-6: R 79-2; D 163-4 (ND 105-1; SD 58-3). 10-17-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(G) **S2947: WATER POLLUTION.** Clear Waters Restoration Act of 1966. Adoption of the conference report (HR 2289) on the bill, authorizing \$3,908,000,000 for federal water pollution control programs in fiscal years 1967-71, and establishing new incentives, in the grants program for construction of sewage treatment plants, for comprehensive antipollution planning and for state contributions. Adopted 247-0: 10-17-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(H) **H. Res. 1060. HUAC.** Citing Milton M. Cohen for contempt of Congress for refusing to testify before the House un-American Activities Committee. Motion to recommit the resolution to a special committee for further study. Rejected 90-181: R 18-36; D 72-118: (ND 71-52; SD 1-66). 10-18-66. The Pres. did not take a position.

(I) **H. Res. 1062: HUAC.** Citing Jeremiah Stamler for contempt of Congress for refusing

to testify before HUAC. Yates (D. Ill.) motion to recommit (kill) the resolution. Rejected 54-181: R 5-63; D 49-118 (ND 48-61; SD 1-57). 10-18-66. The Pres. did not take a position.

(J) **H. Res. 1062: HUAC.** Citing Jeremiah Stamler for contempt. Failed of adoption for lack of quorum (218 needed): 174-37: R 60-7; D 114-30 (ND 58-29; SD 56-1). 10-18-66. The Pres. did not take a position.

(K) **H. Res. 1062: HUAC.** Citing Jeremiah Stamler for contempt of Congress for refusing to testify before HUAC. Adopted 219-60: R 81-10; D 138-59 (ND 66-58; SD 72-1). 10-19-66. The Pres. did not take a position.

(L) **HR 5688: D.C. CRIME.** Passage of the Bill amending the District of Columbia Criminal Code to permit the admissibility of confessions, to permit police to interrogate criminal suspects for up to four hours, to authorize detention of material witnesses and to change the law regarding the defense of insanity. Passed 208-79: R 80-11; D 128-68 (ND 60-66; SD 68-2). 10-19-66. The Pres. did not take a position. (Pres. Johnson later vetoed this bill).

(M) **S3708: DEMONSTRATION CITIES.** Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. Adoption of the conference report on the bill authorizing "demonstration city" grants for community renewal, "incentive" planning grants for orderly metropolitan development and other housing programs. Adopted 142-126: R 12-78; D 130-48 (ND 112-8; SD 18-40). 10-20-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(N) **HR15111: WAR ON POVERTY.** Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1966. Adoption of the conference report on the bill authorizing \$1.75 billion for the "war on poverty" in fiscal 1967. Adopted 170-109: R 20-75; D 150-34 (ND 120-4; SD 30-30). 10-20-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(O) **HR13161: AID TO EDUCATION.** Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1966. Adoption of the conference report on the bill authorizing an estimated \$2.4 billion in fiscal 1967 and \$3.7 billion in fiscal 1968 for school-aid programs. Adopted 185-76: R 41-47; D 144-29 (ND 113-2; SD 31-27). 10-20-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(P) **HR14644. COLLEGE AID.** College Aid Authorization. Adoption of the conference report on a \$3.6 billion bill to aid construction of college facilities, to enlarge student loan programs and to strengthen "developing institutions" (impoverished small colleges). Adopted 222-13: R 81-1; D 141-12 (ND 96-0; SD 45-12). 10-21-66. A yes supports the Pres.

### U.S. SENATE VOTES

(A) **S3406: AID TO EDUCATION.** Passage of the bill authorizing \$2.7 billion in fiscal 1967 and \$3.6 billion in fiscal 1968 for programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and federally impacted areas provide self-government for the District of laws. Passed 54-16: R 13-8; D 41-8 (ND 32-1;

SD 9-7). 10-6-66. A yes supports the Pres.

(B) **HR14644: D.C. HOMERULE.** Motion that the Senate invoke clure on an amendment to Columbia. (A 2/3 majority of Senators voting is required). Rejected 41-37: R 10-15; D 31-22 (ND 31-4; SD 0-18). 10-10-66. (52 "yes" were necessary.) A yes supports the Pres.

(C) **S3708: DEMONSTRATION CITIES.** Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. Adoption of the conference report on the bill providing grants for community renewal; incentive planning grants for orderly metropolitan development; a variety of new Federal Housing Administration (FHA) home mortgage insurance programs; a new program of FHA land development mortgage insurance for developers of entire new towns and new communities; FHA mortgage insurance for group medical, dental, and optometrical facilities; revision of existing urban renewal laws to authorize preservation of historic sites as an eligible urban renewal cost; and a broadening of numerous other programs providing housing and urban aids. Adopted 38-22: R 9-9; D 29-13 (ND 24-1; SD 5-12). 10-18-66. A yes supports the Pres.

#### U.S. HOUSE

ILLINOIS	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
GRAY (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PRICE (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SCHISLER (D)	A	F	Y	F	X	A	A	A	A	A	F	X	F	A	A	A
SHIPLEY (D)	Y	Y	Y	X	A	A	A	A	A	F	A	X	F	F	A	A
ANDERSON (R)	Y	N	A	Y	N	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	X	X	A	A
ARENDT (R)	A	A	Y	N	N	A	A	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
ERLENBORN (R)	Y	N	Y	X	A	A	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	A	A
FINDLEY (R)	Y	N	N	Y	X	A	A	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	A	A
NECLORY (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
NICHEL (R)	A	X	Y	N	A	A	A	A	A	X	X	X	X	A	A	A
REID (R)	Y	N	A	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
SPRINGER (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Chicago																
ANNUNZIO (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
DANSON (R)	N	Y	A	A	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
KLIVZYSKI (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	P	A	A	Y	A	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	F	Y
MURPHY (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
OHARA (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PICINSKI (D)	Y	A	Y	F	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
RONAN (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A
ROSTENKOWSKI (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	A
YATES (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	Y	N	N	F	F	A	A	A	A
COLLIER (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
DERWINSKI (R)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	X	X	X	X	X	X
PIMSFIELD (R)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
MISSOURI																
BOLLING (D)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
HULL (D)	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
HINGGATE (D)	Y	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	A	F	X	A	A	A	A	A
ICHORD (D)	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	X	N	Y	Y	A	A
JONES (D)	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
KARSTEN (D)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
HANDALL (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	A	A	A	F	X	X	A	A	A	A
SULLIVAN (D)	N	Y	A	Y	Y	A	A	A	A	A	F	F	F	A	A	A
CURTIS (R)	Y	N	N	N	A	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
HALL (R)	A	F	Y	N	X	X	Y	N	N	Y	Y	X	A	F	A	A

#### U.S. SENATE

	A	B	C		A	B	C
DONALDSON (D ILL.)	A	F	F	LONG (D MO)	Y	Y	A
DIXON (R ILL.)	N	Y	A	SYMINGTON (D MO)	A	Y	A

## LETTERS

(Continued from Page 4)

### Minutemen Again

F M: The letter from "Name Withheld" in Vol. V, No. 33 of FOCUS Midwest regarding the Minutemen has been brought to my attention. Its implication was that Mr. Jerry Brooks, a former member of the organization, was not a reliable source of information and that we were foolish in relying on him.

In the first place, we never relied upon Mr. Brooks' testimony to the *Kansas Free Press* alone, without checking it with some other source including other informants in the Minutemen. Our sources of information were quite varied and included individuals who had testified before a Federal Grand Jury. Furthermore, recent press accounts of Minutemen activity have only borne out most of

what Mr. Brooks told us. We have yet to catch him up on anything substantial.

The letter from "Name Withheld" seems to impeach Mr. Brooks' information on the grounds that he is an "... unfortunate character." Brooks' eccentricities aside, we took the time to determine the facts through the medium of an investigation. If "Name Withheld" had taken the same trouble he might have formed a different opinion.

The Minutemen is literally riddled with informers, spies and counter-spies. Many of these are only partially informed and unreliable. Determining what is true and what is not is difficult, but by no means impossible. This is what our experience has shown us.

Laird M. Wilcox  
Editor, Kansas Free Press  
Lawrence, Kansas

that a sudden influx of white officers would have upon the populace of his all-Negro city, suggested the experiment might set off a "little Watts." *The project was cancelled two days before it was to begin, when the County Police Commissioners officially claimed a sudden shortage of available manpower.*

### *Kinlochians Versus The Police*

While Lee is reluctant to see Kinloch's Negro police force dissolved, its inadequacy has brought him his darkest hour. In September of 1962 one of the city's finest, a 74-year-old patrolman, shot to death a 20-year-old traffic offender while trying to serve him a summons. That evening, 300 Kinlochians picketed the City Hall, demanding an end to "Jesse James Law." Picketing soon turned to more dramatic forms of protest, such as a partially successful attempt to burn down the home of the police chief. As the disorder continued, youthful gangs of arsonists began setting fires indiscriminately. One blaze destroyed a portable frame addition to the already-crowded Kinloch elementary school. While Kinloch homeowners literally mounted armed guard over their properties, Mayor Lee requested help from the County and surrounding municipalities. A fleet of fifty white police arrived, some accompanied by police dogs. During the night, two County officers were wounded by shotgun blasts, although it never has been determined whether the shots were aimed at the men or the dogs. Sporadic shooting and arson continued for another 72 hours before the situation was brought completely under control.

After the unpleasantness, now referred to as a disturbance by Kinlochians and a riot by most white County residents, the Mayor promised to act upon the citizens' grievances. As a start, the elderly officer who had precipitated the whole affair was encouraged to tender his resignation. A study committee, made up of Lee and County officials, was convened to investigate ways of upgrading Kinloch's police. As expected, the committee's fundamental recommendations were for higher pay, better training, and the hiring of individuals with more suitable qualifications.

The Mayor has been able to effect some increase in police salaries, which

averaged only \$1.00 per hour at the time of the disorder, but Kinloch simply cannot afford adequate law-enforcement. As a stop-gap measure, three recruits recently were added to the force. If they survive probationary status, Kinloch will have two officers per shift. However, the situation hardly is healthy. The rookies will have to generate enough revenue through traffic fines to provide their own salaries.

Doubling Kinloch's meager corps of full-time patrolmen by no means exhausts Mayor Lee's fund of ideas on the subject. Scanning the horizon for Federal assistance, Lee sees appropriations being made for training programs in various occupational categories. Why not extend the definition of one of these Congressional bills to include training of the Kinloch police force, add the Federal training stipends to the officers' present salaries, bring police wages to an attractive level, ask the County to conduct the training and have this credited as Kinloch's ten percent contribution, and thereby get training and financial assistance in the same package? Local anti-poverty administrators react to this scheme with some bewilderment, but after seeing the sewer amendment through to success, Lee views nothing as impossible.

### *The Moral Dilemma*

While Clarence Lee struggles to bring a better way of life to a community almost totally lacking in indigenous resources, some observers question the morality of it all. They raise the issue, valid at least in the abstract, of the usefulness of an all-Negro city in an age of integration. Kinlochians, by and large, are too enthusiastic about the coming of indoor plumbing and about lighted streets to criticize these phenomena as strengthening a segregated status quo. They are accustomed to isolation and generally see no immediate prospect of closer ties with their reluctant county neighbors. *Above integration, they desire immediate changes in their living conditions, even if these changes take place within the framework of an all-Negro society. Most Negroes can understand this point of view, but it is not readily acceptable to a small number of liberal whites who occupy influential positions in the St. Louis area.* These individuals tend to see Kinloch's attempts at self-sufficiency as ensur-

## THE OTHER MAYOR LEE

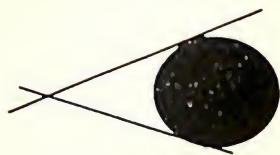
*(Continued from Page 23)*

ing the city's continued existence as a Negro ghetto. Some recommend disincorporation, although they are unable to project any specific integration breakthroughs as a result. Others call for merger with Berkeley and/or Ferguson, forgetting that neither of Kinloch's immediate neighbors is remotely willing to absorb 8000 Negroes.

Lee answers the well-meaning moralists with a cliché: he hopes Kinloch will become a place where whites will want to live. Thus, instead of suggesting that Kinlochians integrate Berkeley or Ferguson, Lee speaks of integration coming to Kinloch. In the next breath, however, he talks of the likelihood of an influx of low-income Negro families from a half-dozen small unincorporated Negro communities in St. Louis County. He predicts almost a hundred percent increase in population in less than five years, estimating 15,000 residents, all of them Negro, by 1970. These individuals will come fleeing the outhouse and shanty style of living from which their own non-autonomous villages cannot escape. They will come to take advantage of a better way of life, in the only more attractive community that will readily accept them. If this wave of poverty-level Negroes arrives, and all that seems to block them is the town's almost total lack of available rental accommodations, they will superimpose a new set of demands upon Kinloch's sputtering economy. Certainly, they will preclude white immigration in the foreseeable future, if for no other reason than they will occupy all of the unused land.

Nevertheless, Kinloch probably will manage to cope with the problems posed by any new arrivals. Unlike Richard Lee of New Haven, Clarence Lee won't be able to pick up the telephone and call a brainstorming session of top City officials. Kinloch's Mayor will have to develop his own strategy utilizing, perhaps, resources made available through some yet to be passed Federal legislation. But who is willing to wager that Kinloch, and its Mayor Lee, won't stave off municipal bankruptcy despite the odds? After all, who would have thought in 1948, or even in 1961 when Lee took office, that Kinloch would survive into 1967?





## THE RIGHT WING

An earlier issue of FOCUS/Midwest (Vol. III, No. 6/7) carried a "Roster of the Right Wing and the Fanatics" describing 45 organizations located or active in the Illinois-Missouri area. This column, "The Right Wing," will keep our readers abreast of new developments. Together with the "Roster" it offers an up-to-date service. Copies of "The Roster" are available at \$1.00 each.

### AMERICAN OPINION SPEAKERS FORUM

This Florissant, Missouri, Birch-front recently featured the Reverend Richard Wurmbrand. The minister is described as a "Doctor of Theology, past Professor of the Old Testament in the Seminary of Bucharest, and author of several books. Because of antireligious persecution, Pastor Wurmbrand was imprisoned by the Communists in Rumania for a total of 14 years." The Reverend is now serving as "overseas director of Underground Evangelism." Rev. Wurmbrand has also made many anti-Communist speeches in the Chicago area under the sponsorship of an independent religious congregation which has a number of Birch Society members.

While he has criticized Lutherans for not helping him obtain a U.S. residency, it is a fact that Rev. Wurmbrand, a Lutheran, has not established contact with any of the jurisdictional offices of the American Lutheran churches.

### ANTI-COMMUNIST STUDY CLUB

The October 1965 Birch Bulletin for members carries this item: "As a general rule we would suggest that two or three Birchers act together for the formation of an Anti-Communist Study Club, bringing in about 10 or 12 non-Birchers to complete the club membership . . . Approach each prospect with what interests that prospect. Do not expect a mother with a son in Vietnam to become excited enough by your concern over the Federal Reserve System to want to join a study club. But she will be much interested in the

slogan 'When are we going to win this war in Vietnam — and why not?' and in your explaining that an excellent AC Study Club is being formed to study, among other things, the whole background to this Vietnamese mess . . . From time to time, members of an AC Study Club, gradually learning more about the conspiracy and about the Conservative philosophy, and also more about the John Birch Society itself, may wish to become members of the Society — of the hard core of Conservatives which is supplying the drive and knowledge behind the study-club organization. . . ."

### CHRIST

"Christ" is the acronym of a new entry in the right-wing field—Citizens Heeding Righteousness Instead of Satanic Tyranny, of Oak Park, Illinois. Its literature attacks civil rights leaders in general and Senator Robert Kennedy, Rev. Martin Luther King and Archbishop John P. Cody, in particular.

### CHRISTIAN CRUSADE AGAINST COMMUNISM

Wayne Lutton, state coordinator of the Youth Chapter of the Christian Crusade Against Communism, protested that the Evanston post office permitted the sale of UNICEF cards on its premises.

### THE CHRISTIAN CRUSADE

Billy James Hargis, head of the Crusade, opposed disarmament in a Kansas City speech. "The order of disarmament comes in four phases," Hargis said, "which are designed to eventually lead us into a Communist-inspired world government under one nation." The "phases" are: peaceful competition, world law, world government, and government under one nation.

### CITIZENS FOR CICERO AND BERWYN (Ill.)

John Pellegrini, a Cicero resident and bartender at a Chicago loop cocktail lounge, formed the CCB following efforts to form a human relations council in these two communities. Birch Society literature has been distributed at CCB meetings, but Birch leaders state that the group is not affiliated. Several area clergymen have received subscriptions to the *Councilor*, a publication of the Louisiana Citizens Council which promotes hatred of Jews and Negroes. The Rev.

Vernon Lyons, Ashburn Baptist Church on Chicago's Southwest side, who was to address CCB, described the group's members as feeling "that their clergy have betrayed them on community issues." The Rev. Frank A. Cimarrusti, assistant pastor, St. Attracta Roman Catholic Church, noted that contributions to the parish have gone down since appeals were made at a CCB meeting for people to stop supporting their churches. Cicero is an all-white community.

### CONSTITUTIONAL ALLIANCE, INC.

This new right-wing group will hold a "First National GET INVOLVED! Workshop" in Washington in March 1967. For the occasion, CAI has acquired Kenneth Ingwalson, formerly with Human Events, ACA, and the American Farm Bureau Federation.

### FLORISSANT (MO.) REPUBLICAN CLUB

The Florissant group, which is under the control of John Stormer and his friends, has given only perfunctory support to Republican candidates in the St. Louis metropolitan area but contributed \$1,000 to the gubernatorial campaign of Ronald Reagan in California.

The metamorphosis of right wingers is wondrous and ever surprising. Stormer, author of the discredited book "None Dare Call It Treason," is turning into an evangelist. Lately, he has been telling some political acquaintances that they would never be "saved." He has also been a guest speaker at the highly conservative East Main Baptist Church in Glenview, Ill. In his speeches he opposes the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches.

### LET FREEDOM RING

Howard Bickler, 3709 Irving Park Road, Chicago, is the sponsor of a Chicago "Let Freedom Ring" a recorded message which can be heard by dialing a telephone number. The message is vicious, crude, and untruthful. Among others, the recorded voice says: "The socialistic liberals seem to delight in helping the Communists undermine tradition and all that is sacred in America. Especially when it is Christian religion and Christian tradition that are under attack. They like it ever better when they can undermine Christian values and at the same time make money